

The Pampangans

COLONIAL SOCIETY IN A PHILIPPINE PROVINCE



John A. Larkin

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The Pampangans

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To the Memory of
Sra. ADELINA PANLILIO Vda. de VENTURA
of San Fernando, Pampanga
(1906-1970)
a genteel lady, a wise counselor,
and a dear friend

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Preface

One of the major problems in the writing of Philippine history stems from inadequate knowledge of historical conditions in the rural Philippines. In general, historians have concentrated their attention on the highest levels of national government and politics, on foreign relations and commerce, on the biographies of prominent figures, on the colonial administrations, and on the broadest aspects of the Philippine Revolution. This singular concern with Manila and its immediate environs tends to distort the history of the archipelago as a whole. Local history has, for the most part, been neglected, even though Philippine society has remained overwhelmingly rural throughout its entire existence.

Focusing on the Manila area, the seat of Spanish and American authority, reveals only the "Western" face of Philippine society. As a result, the Philippines has at times seemed a pale imitation of Occidental society, not quite capable of sustained independent development. The bonds which historically link the Philippines to the rest of Southeast Asia are found mainly in the rural area—in the traditional agricultural life of the peasant, in the more superficial acceptance of outside influence, including religion, and in the strong emphasis on family, village, and language-group loyalty.

Poor communication and transportation, as well as linguistic and cultural diversity, have made the connection tenuous between the political capital and the outlying provinces. The Philippines has been and is still a series of independent and self-contained units shaped as much by internal socioeconomic factors as by external currents emanating from Manila. The more remote the region, the more independent the society, the more the government depends on local acquiescence for the success of its policies and aims. No history dealing with so-called national issues has been more than a study of one of the many units. Historians for the most part have been laboring under a notion derived from training in Western political history that metropolitan events shaped the history of the countryside. Such has not been the case in the Philippines. Until we have a more complete understanding of the many units of the Philippine complex, we will be unable to discern the broader turns and evolution of the whole society.

A second problem arises, then, because scholars have treated rural society as a monolithic structure susceptible to influence and change at a uniform rate. By neglecting to account for the diversity of rural society they have failed to assess meaningfully the impact on the Philippines of such phenomena as colonialism and the revolution of 1896. Regional diversity, however, may be the most dynamic force in Philippine history. The Spaniards understood the extent of regional diversity and used it as a mechanism to control native society. All but a small number of Filipinos were denied access to the *lingua franca* of Spanish. And the colonial government employed mercenaries from one language area to control unrest in another. Filipino leaders, too, comprehended the meaning of such division. The late H. Otley Beyer once related to me how the directors of the 1918 census of the Philippines excluded language data for fear that the Americans might use lack of unity as a reason to deny the Philippines independence. In another vein historians have not yet fully considered the problems of regional disunity faced by the Philippine Revolutionary Government.

Language grouping represents only one of the important

divisions in the rural Philippines. Important cultural barriers have separated hill people from those of the plain, the Christians from the Muslims, and the swidden cultivators from the paddy farmers. Even the raising of different kinds of crops has split the people of the Philippines into separate groupings, adding diversity to rural history. Prosperity for the growers of hemp has come, on occasion, at times of poverty for the sugar farmers. Hence, anyone wishing to explore general social and economic change in the rural Philippines must first acquire much more detailed information than currently exists on the various regions that make up the whole.

The purpose of this study is to examine the social and economic history of just one of the many rural regions of the Philippines. While no single work can solve the historiographical problems raised above, this one at least provides an example of what needs to be done. I present here for the first time a study of the Pampangan people, a lowland Christian group living beyond the immediate influence of Manila and possessing their own separate historical development. Although the Pampangans at times responded to outside forces, their history is largely one of selective adaptation to those forces. Ultimately, social and economic changes in the province depended more on the needs, desires, and temperament of its people than on the designs and wishes of any external powers.

Pampanga (all *a*'s pronounced as in palm) proved an excellent place of study for several reasons. First, its boundaries more or less defined the home of most Capampangan-speaking people in the Philippines. Hence, historical references to Pampanga and Pampangans refer almost without exception to a specific place and a specific group of people. Second, it contains an area sufficiently compact to have made research in all its municipalities possible. Third, Pampanga was of sufficient distance from Manila to be indubitably classified rural, yet close enough to react to major historical events occurring at the seat of government. And finally, the fact that in the twentieth century Pampanga became a hotbed of social unrest made its social and economic development a very enticing subject for historical

study. Why, for instance, did a group of people traditionally peaceful in their response to changing conditions suddenly begin to react in a hostile manner during a time of economic progress?

The work covers a period of 360 years, roughly from 1561 to 1921. Although the period is long, the area studied is fairly small. I have concentrated on a thorough analysis of Pampangan society over an extended length of time. The focus rests entirely on change within the province, with occasional mention of events outside when they have a direct bearing upon internal change. Little comparative data from other provinces has been given, in large part because no similar studies exist from which to draw such data. Further, while what occurred in Pampanga may or may not have been duplicated elsewhere in the Philippines, the object of this book is to pin down the happenings in just one area. Systematic comparisons, which will ultimately provide the basis for a fuller history of the archipelago, will first require the completion of many more local studies. For the present a real need exists to look at individual regions without paying too much attention to the generalizations which have heretofore passed for Philippine history.

My approach is ethnohistorical. Since the emphasis centers on the gradual evolution of socioeconomic institutions as they adapted to changing circumstances, I have frequently borrowed anthropological and sociological techniques in dealing with problems of ecology, kinship, and class relationships. The three unifying factors in Pampangan society between 1561 and 1921 were the strong symbiotic relationship between the landowning class and the peasantry, the heavy dependence on the tenant system of labor, and the strong sense of local loyalty. The dynamics of Pampangan history were such that when these three forms of social glue started to break down, or at least lose their old strength, social stability weakened and hostilities began. The political historian might wish for a more detailed discussion of the upheaval which followed 1921, but, from the ethnohistorical perspective, the climax came in the year the

unrest first surfaced. The succeeding instability was inevitable and more of the same.

Some clarification of the various terms used in this study is necessary. Pampanga is the name of the province, and its people are the Pampangans; they speak the language Capampangan. Spaniards, Chinese, Americans, and other foreign residents of the province, even though some remained in Pampanga for a long time, are not considered native Pampangans. Within the Pampangan context, the term *indio* refers to the Malay Pampangans. Indio was a legal classification employed during the Spanish period to refer to all Malay Filipinos and in this study contains none of the term's pejorative connotations. The terms *Chinese mestizo* or *mestizo* alone categorize people of Chinese-indio ancestry; only when modified with "Spanish" does mestizo imply people of Spanish-indio ancestry. Native is used in its generic sense of indigenous; thus, a native in the province is one of the indigenous Pampangans. Before about the middle of the eighteenth century, almost all natives were indios. After that time, natives included both indios and mestizos. In the matter of accenting, I have followed modern Philippine usage which tends to drop the accent marks from Filipino names, places, dialect words, and incorporated Spanish words.

Many hands have shaped this work, but the first and most grateful acknowledgement goes to my wife, Charlie, whose constant support made everything possible. Let me say to her:

So are you to my thoughts as food to life,
Or as sweet-season'd showers are to the ground.

My good friend Harry J. Benda of Yale University helped in so many ways, constantly offering counsel and encouragement. The example of Harry's own enthusiasm for his work prompted me to become a historian, and the rigor of his thought, which he generously shared with others, shaped the strategy of this book. His recent death has deprived me and his other colleagues of someone very important in our lives.

Professors Frank Trager and Nicholas Cushner, S.J. have

been extremely thoughtful in their suggestions and criticisms of my work. Serafin D. Quiason and Edgar Wickberg have given me useful advice and information along the way. Three of my colleagues at State University of New York at Buffalo, Theodore Friend, John Krause, and Mitchell Harwitz, came to my rescue with their expertise and criticism.

I am grateful to the staffs of the following depositories who gave so freely and courteously of their time and services: Philippine National Archives; Filipiniana and Quezoniana sections of the National Library of the Philippines; Filipiniana section of the University of the Philippines Main Library; Office of Land Records, San Fernando, Pampanga; Pampanga Provincial Library; Social Sciences and War Department sections of the U.S. National Archives; Yale University Library; the New York Public Library; and the Orientalia division of the Library of Congress. Also I wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. Mariano A. Henson, Mr. Mauro Garcia, Mr. Carlos Quirino, Miss Marina Dayrit, Mr. James Magavern, and the late Dr. H. Otley Beyer, all of whom supplied me with materials unobtainable elsewhere.

Miss Maria Vida Ventura gathered much valuable data on Pampanga, and Miss Milagrosa R. Martinez worked overtime to complete her excellent translations from the Capampangan. Messrs. Russell Smith and Celso Rodriguez helped with the Spanish translations. The manuscript was edited with great finesse by Miss Vicky Suddard. Professor Daniel Doeppers and Miss Ward Whittington deserve the credit for the high quality of the maps. The secretaries at State University of New York at Buffalo labored patiently at the typewriter to see the manuscript through to completion.

And finally, many Pampangans, too numerous to mention by name, shared their experiences with me and offered their warm hospitality while I traveled about their province. Many of my ideas came while interacting with the people of the province, and being with them helped to test the strength of my assertions. I hope they think I have been fair to their forefathers.

To all of the above, I am deeply indebted. Any errors in this work, however, are mine alone.

Research in the Philippines was made possible by a Fulbright Student Grant in 1963-1964. I wish to thank the Fulbright Office in Manila for assistance to myself and my family while we resided in the Philippines. My thanks also to New York University and the State University of New York at Buffalo for financial support.

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JOHN A. LARKIN

ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT FORMS USED IN THE NOTES

B&R	Blair, Emma, and Robertson, James Alexander. <i>The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898</i> . 55 vols. Cleveland: A. H. Clark, 1903-1909.
Beyer Series	Beyer, H. Otley, ed. "Ethnography of the Pampan-gan People." Vols. I-III. Unpublished MSS, Manila, 1916-1931.
BIA	The Papers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, U.S. National Archives.
HDP	Republic of the Philippines, Bureau of Public Schools. "Historical Data Papers for Pampanga." Vol. II. Unpublished MS, National Library of the Philippines, 1953.
LPC	Luther Parker Collection.
PIR	Philippine Insurgent Records.
PNA	Philippine National Archives.
QP	Papers of Manuel Luis Quezon, National Library of the Philippines.

The province takes its name from the vernacular word *pang-pang*, which means river bank.

Ramon Aquino

1

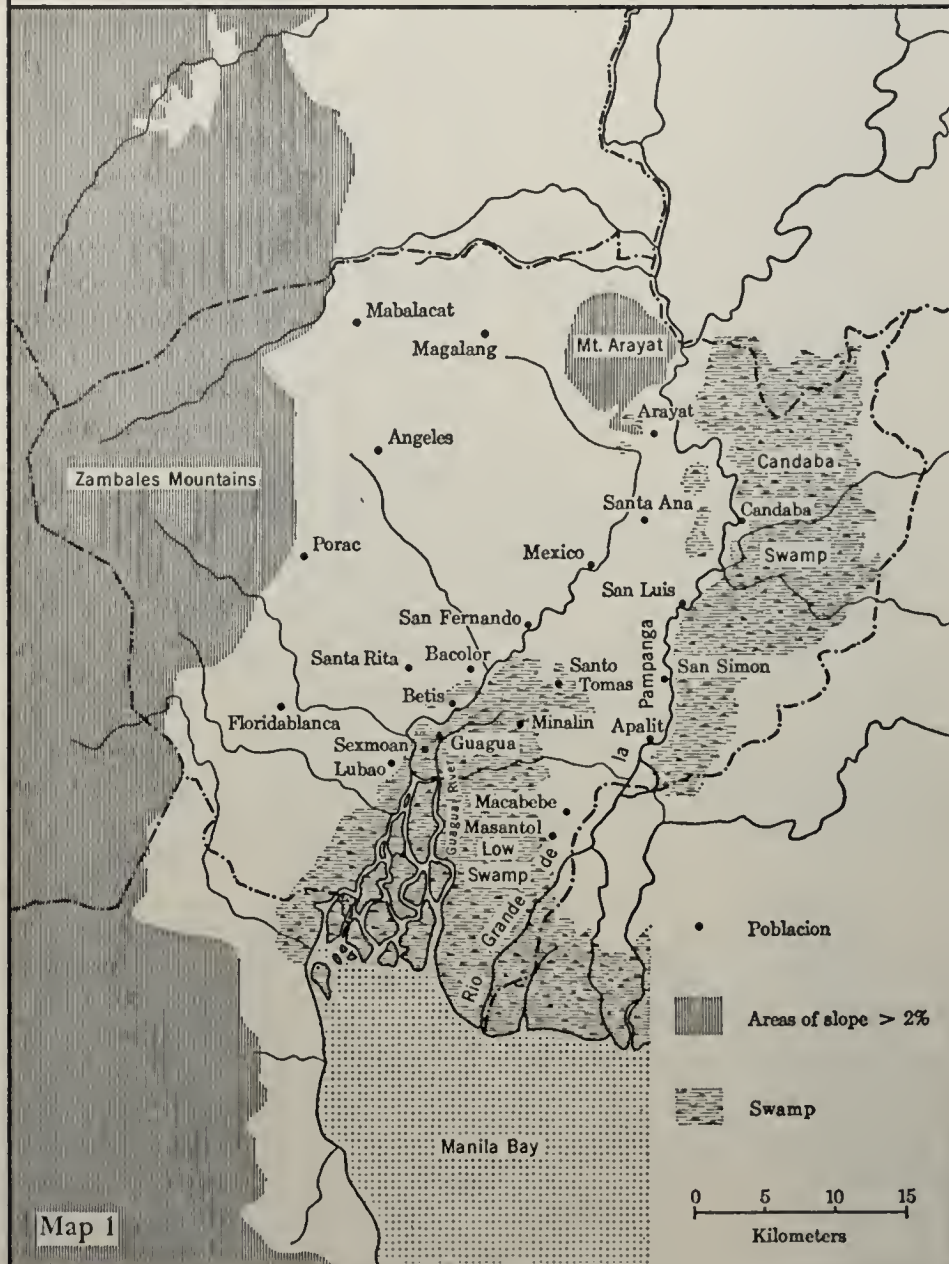
At the Turn of the Century

MODERN PAMPANGAN society was forged during more than three centuries of Spanish colonial rule. By 1900 the province had acquired its present boundaries and the provincial economy had adjusted to both internal needs and external demands. The people of the towns and *barrios* shared a common culture, a blend of Spanish and native elements similar in many ways to that found in other lowland areas of the Philippines. Nevertheless the Pampangans maintained a separate identity based on group loyalty and the use of their own language.

The province

The Pampangans are one of several ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting the extensive Central Luzon Plain which stretches north to Lingayen Gulf, east to the Zambales Mountains, south to Manila Bay, and west to the Sierra Madre Range. They developed their agricultural society in the southwest where the Rio Grande de la Pampanga and its estuaries empty into the bay. Here in their homeland rimmed by Mt. Arayat, the Candaba Swamp, and the Zambales (see Map 1) the river supplied the necessary, and initially at least only, source of irrigation and transportation.

MAJOR PHYSICAL FEATURES OF PAMPANGA



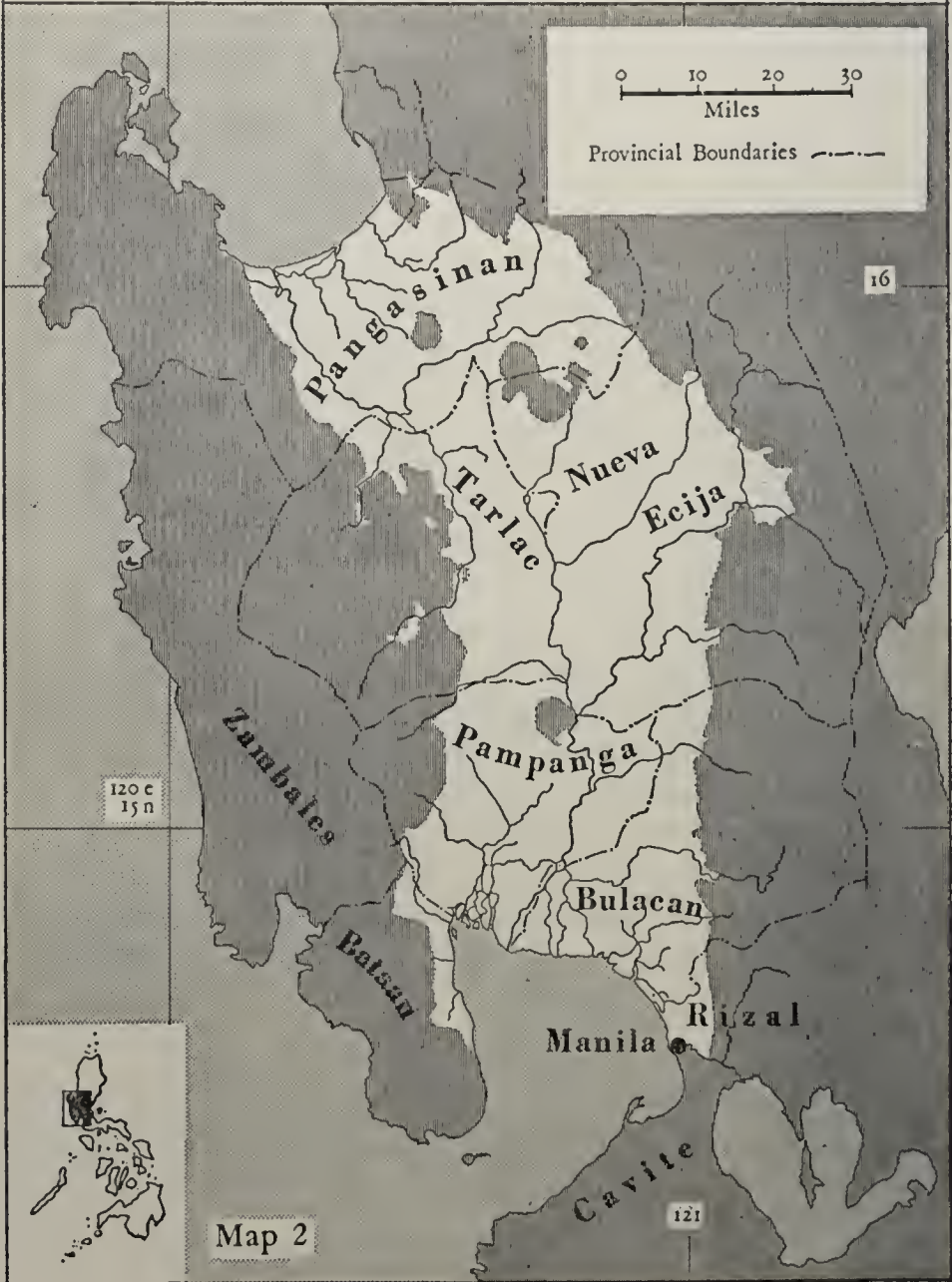
The political boundaries of Pampanga Province, defined originally during the Spanish era, once encompassed a large portion of the Central Luzon Plain; however, over the years various sections were subtracted and incorporated into the provinces of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Bataan, and Tarlac.¹ The present borders (see Map 2) were established in 1873. While these latter boundaries did not exactly circumscribe the territory in which Capampangan was spoken, in each of the twenty-two municipalities of the province Capampangan served as the lingua franca. At the time of the 1903 census, about one-third of the people of Tarlac spoke the language, and a small colony of Pampangans lived in Manila;² but in both places they formed a minority. Also some people in the Pampangan barrios bordering Bulacan and Nueva Ecija spoke Tagalog, but they too were a minority. If one spoke Capampangan, he was in all probability from the province of Pampanga, where the history of the Capampangan-speaking people had unfolded.

Although the province covers an area of only 850 square miles, making it smaller than most American counties, it contains three separate regions, each supporting different types of human activity. The first is the mountainous section including part of the Zambales range on the western border and solitary Mt. Arayat in the northeastern section. While the highest peak, Mt. Pinatubo, reaches only 6,050 feet and Arayat only 3,564 feet, the slopes are quite steep and covered by a dense tropical rain-forest. Historically, these mountains have been of little use to the agricultural inhabitants of Pampanga. The only people who

¹ *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), I, 231; Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns* (4th ed. rev.; Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1965), pp. 99-100. Throughout this work, all references to Pampanga relate to the 1873 boundaries since these delimit during historical times the home of the Capampangan-speaking people.

² Provinces with sizeable Pampangan populations included: Bataan, 870; Bulacan, 1,720; Manila, 15,142; Nueva Ecija, 3,265; Pangasinan, 1,439; Rizal, 1,725; Tarlac, 39,149 [*Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903* (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1905), II, 344-387]. By comparison 216,085 Pampangans lived within the province proper.

The CENTRAL PLAIN of LUZON



actually lived in the mountains in 1900 were a group of perhaps a thousand Negritos,³ who maintained themselves primarily by hunting and gathering but who also raised corn in shifting patches and bartered herbs, beeswax, and rattan with lowlanders to obtain such items as cloth and salt. In general, the Negritos remained isolated from the Pampangans. Poor relations had existed between the two groups for centuries because the Pampangans, in their quest for agricultural land, had forced the Negritos out of the lowlands and into the less hospitable mountains. In addition, during the Spanish period and the early twentieth century, Negritos were sometimes kidnapped, sold, and used in the households of wealthy lowlanders as servants and playmates for children.⁴ Not surprisingly, the Negritos avoided all unnecessary contact with their lowland neighbors.

The second region is one heavily watered by the Rio Grande de la Pampanga and its estuaries. This area, situated in the southwestern and southern parts of the province, includes the Candaba Swamp. The Rio Grande has its source in the Sierra Madre range to the east, and meanders through Nueva Ecija. North and east of Mount Arayat, the Rio Grande joins the Chico River and proceeds south and west to the bay (see Map 3). It was deep enough in 1900 for boats with a draft of three feet to navigate as far up as Arayat, the easternmost town in the province.⁵ In the towns of the delta—Sexmoan, Guagua, and Lubao—as well as the towns of lowest elevation near the river—San Luis, Masantol, Macabebe, Santo Tomas, and Candaba—

³ William Allen Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, Government of the Philippine Islands, Department of the Interior, Ethnological Survey Publications (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904), II, Pt. 1, 32. John M. Garvan, writing in the first decade of the twentieth century, estimated that 821 families lived in the area [John M. Garvan, *The Negritos of the Philippines*, ed. Hermann Hohegger (Horn-Vienna: Verlag Ferdinand Berger, 1964), p. 9].

⁴ Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present* (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1930), pp. 530–544; Interview with Mrs. Tranquilino Ventura, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 26, 1965; Valentin D. Mendoza, "The Pampangans," Beyer Series, p. 8.

⁵ Frederic H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1900), p. 195.

the people developed a fishing industry, using either fish traps set in the river or fish ponds along the streams. The milkfish or *bangus* offered one of the most valuable sources of protein for the Pampangans. Moreover, the exporting of the *bangus* provided an additional source of wealth in an otherwise agricultural region. The Candaba Swamp on the eastern boundary functioned in two ways: during the rainy season, it filled up and became a lake where fish were caught; during the dry season it was used as a place to raise rice and vegetables.

The third region is the flat expanse constituting the Pampangan extension of the Central Luzon Plain and includes all the land suitable for the growing of rice and sugar. Slight variations in elevation determined whether a particular field was planted in rice or sugar, and, as a result, both crops were raised in almost all of the municipalities of Pampanga in 1900. On the other hand, the growing of rice predominated in the river towns of the south where ground was slightly lower overall and where the river supplied water the year round. Indeed, the south was the only section where more than one crop of rice per year could be grown. In the north, however, a combination of higher, drier ground and sandier soil made sugar growing more feasible.⁶ The rough division separating the sugar belt from the rice belt was a line starting in the municipality of Lubao on the west and running northeast through San Fernando and on to Arayat (see Map 4). The dividing line is very apparent even today from the main highway which runs through the middle of the province. From Apalit up to San Fernando, as far as the eye can see, there are nothing but rice paddies on either side of the road. North of the *poblacion* (town) of San Fernando, however, the vast expanse of sugar suddenly begins. This third region represented the great bulk of the land mass of Pampanga and is the greatest source of livelihood in the province. Most of the families of Pampanga were involved in some way with the culti-

⁶ M. M. Alicante *et al.*, *Soil Survey of Pampanga Province, Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1939), pp. 1-37; Ricardo E. Galang, "Ethnographic Study of the Pampangans" (unpublished MS in the possession of Mr. Mauro Garcia, Manila, 1940), pp. 1-3; Sawyer, pp. 195-196.



vation of sugar and rice. Indeed, the social and economic history must be understood in a context built around farming and its related activities. Social relationships were intimately tied to the landowning system, and major change in Pampangan society has always been associated with some change in the agricultural pattern induced by internal events or external events or a conjunction of both.

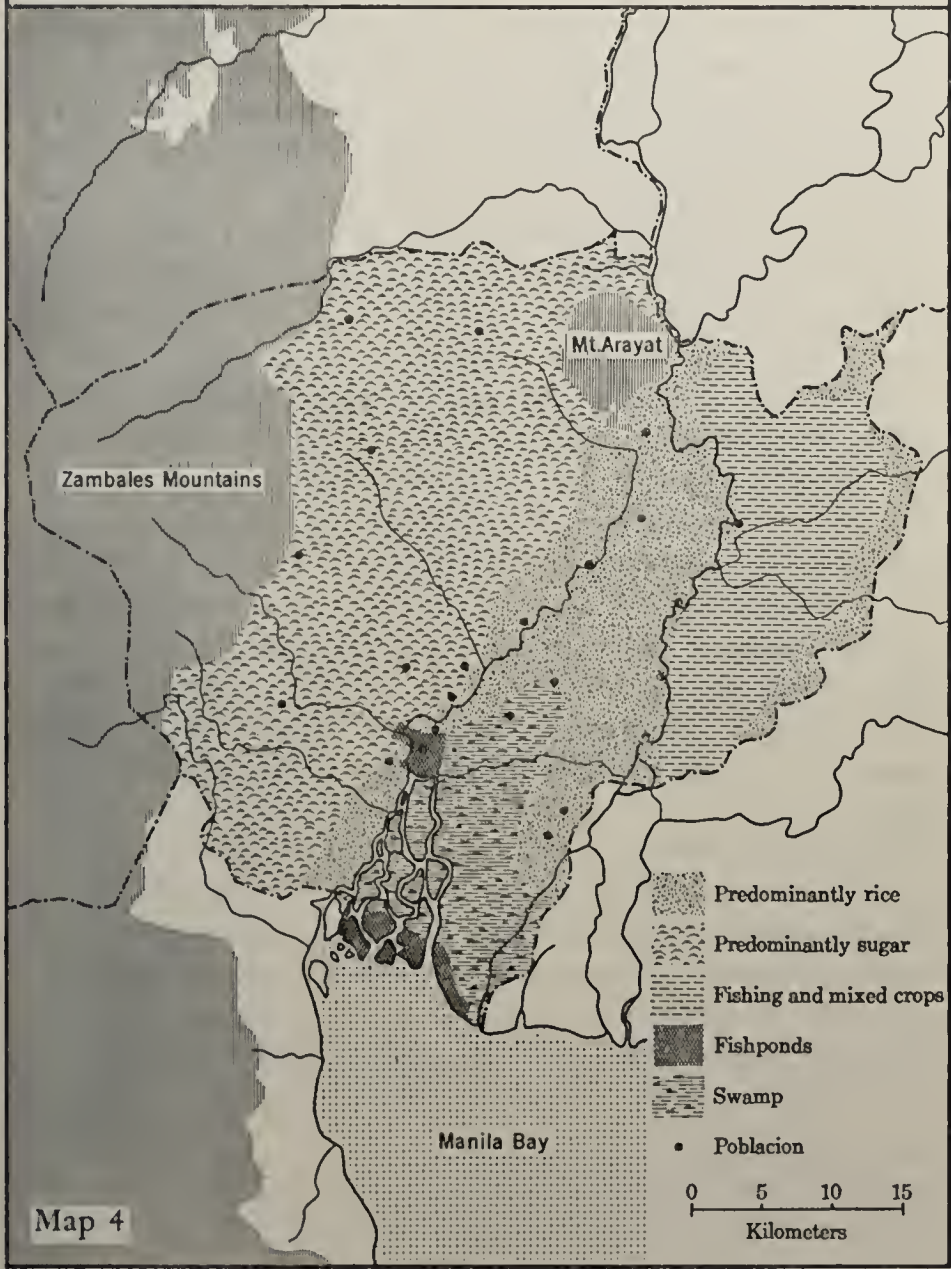
The people and their towns

As a cultural group, the Pampangans shared much in common with their neighbors in Central Luzon and, indeed, with other lowland peoples of the Philippines. The Spanish regime homogenized Philippine culture, blurring many differences that had existed before the conquest of the archipelago when groups had been more isolated. Still, a separate language continued to distinguish the Pampangans from others. While Capampangan belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages prevalent in the Islands and is closely related to both Tagalog and Sambal, the Pampangans could not readily communicate in that dialect with the people of nearby Zambales Province or the adjacent Tagalog region.⁷ So, in spite of broad cultural similarities, the Pampangans could be identified by their language. Otherwise, they possessed physical features common to all lowland Filipinos and dressed like any other lowland group. At the turn of the century peasants wore simple dresses or loose cotton trousers and shirts, with either sandals or no footwear, while the wealthier classes of the time usually conformed to the latest Spanish styles of clothing. Only an astute observer might have noticed that the

⁷ Robert Fox, Willis Sibley, and Fred Eggan, "A Preliminary Glottochronology for Northern Luzon," *Asian Studies*, III (April 1965), 103-113; C. Douglas Chrétien, "A Classification of Twenty-one Philippine Languages," *Philippine Journal of Science*, XCI, No. 4 (December 1962), 485-506. Works on the Capampangan dialect have not been numerous. Two of the earliest were undertaken by an Augustinian friar, Diego Bergaño [*Arte de la lengua pampanga* (Manila: Impr. de la Compañía de Iesus, por S. L. Sabino, 1729); and *Vocabulario de la lengua pampanga en romance* (2d ed.; Manila: Impr. de Ramirez y Giraudier, 1860)].

MAJOR CROP AREAS OF PAMPANGA

CIRCA 1920



Pampangan peasant wore a working sun hat made of *buri*, which differed stylistically from the *salacot* of any other group.⁸

Agricultural practices in Pampanga had developed along common lines as well. Farmers employed the traditional methods of wet-rice Asia to raise their crops, and the ubiquitous *carabao*, or water buffalo, served as the beast of burden. The monsoon winds prevailing all along the west coast of the archipelago determined the agricultural cycle. Harvests were taken in and next year's fields prepared during the long dry season from November to April while the northeast monsoon predominated. And from June to November the Pampangans, like many other Filipino farmers, depended on the rains brought by the southwest monsoon and the overflow of the rivers to nourish their crops. The recurring weather patterns, the terrain, and the limited technology of the time presented farmers with little opportunity to vary the agricultural pattern. As a result, they confronted peak work times in May, June, July, November, December, and January, interspersed with long periods of relative inactivity.⁹ But more important to the historical development of Pampanga, the long wait between planting and harvesting the rice crop, and the heavy demand for rice seed and sugar cane cuttings for planting, built up a debt relationship between tenants and landlords which was particularly strong in Pampanga. The debt and landowning systems combined to create a two-class society with a built-in resistance to change.

If physical appearance and agricultural practices did not provide special identification for the Pampangans, neither did their architecture or their town planning. Members of the lower class lived in homes made of traditional materials: grass, nipa palm leaves, and bamboo, on a frame constructed of bamboo

⁸ See an illustration of these hats in A. L. Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines* (New York: American Museum Press, 1919), p. 125.

⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Jose Santos-Cuyugan, a farmer from San Fernando, Pampanga, who, in interviews on June 26, 1965 and January 25, 1970, supplied much information on early farming practices in the province. See also Hamilton M. Wright, *A Handbook of the Philippines* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1907), p. 242.

poles, with a floor several feet from the ground. The size and layout of the interior depended on the wealth of the owner, but one or two rooms usually sufficed. The upper class maintained much more substantial homes. Raised off the ground by a stone foundation, their houses had wooden walls and a carved balustrade, with extremely large window panels made of oyster shells which could slide sideways to permit better ventilation. The high peaked roofs were of nipa thatch, and the floors of solid wood. Many of these houses were so well built they still stand today; several are over one hundred years old.¹⁰ The interiors of these houses possessed the normal complement of bedrooms, dining room, and *sala* (main parlor), with an open-walled kitchen in the back.

The layout of the municipalities was also similar to that found in other towns of the Philippines. Save for the fishing municipality of Sexmoan, all fall into the Philippine plaza complex pattern described by Hart.¹¹ The Catholic church dominated the town square, the heart of the poblacion.¹² Pampanga,

¹⁰ The best surviving examples of well-to-do houses in the nineteenth century are probably the Nepomuceno home on Sta. Rosario Street in Angeles, Pampanga and the Arnedo residence in Barrio Sulipan, Apalit, both of which incorporate all the features mentioned above.

¹¹ Donn V. Hart, *The Philippine Plaza Complex: A Focal Point in Culture Change* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1955).

¹² From about the eighteenth century on, the Philippines was divided up into provinces. Each province consisted of a series of municipalities with one of them serving as the capital of the province. Around 1900, Pampanga contained twenty-two municipalities with Bacolor the capital. The following passage describes the various units of government within a province:

Territorially, the municipalities and municipal districts resemble the New England town, rather than the American city. Each includes a principal urban, or quasi-urban area, the *poblacion*, in which is located the *presidencia* or city hall, and the *barrios*, which are rural or semi-rural areas somewhat like the townships of our middle western states. Many *barrios* have a center or several centers of population which in their physical aspects bear some resemblance to American villages [Joseph Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (New York: Macmillan, 1942), pp. 262-263].

Although the names of the units sometimes changed, the units themselves have remained the same, even up to the present time. For further information on the structure of local government, see John Leddy Phelan, *The*

MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES IN PAMPANGA

CIRCA 1900



overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, had the distinction in 1903 of having the largest number of churches of any province in the Philippines.¹³ Each municipality (see Map 5) contained one major church, a stone building constructed in the typical heavy Spanish Baroque style with heavy buttresses and low vaulted interiors. While these buildings were raised at different times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they all possessed a certain monotony of style characteristic of almost all the churches of the Philippines. Near each church stood the *convento*, home of the parish priest and other religious people residing in the town. Many conventos were actually attached to the church itself. Across the plaza from the church sat the municipal building (*presidencia*), as if to symbolize the close connection between church and state that existed during Spanish times. The box-shaped municipal buildings were characteristically two-storied, stone edifices, with shell windows, a nipa thatch roof, and some kind of undistinctive design carved into the walls.

Within the vicinity of the plaza stood a market area. The size varied with the importance of the market to the surrounding community. For example, in Guagua, the major port near Manila Bay and an important trade link between Manila and Pampanga, the large market opened every day, but in an out-of-the-way town like San Simon a much smaller market operated only once a week.¹⁴ The market consisted of a series of semi-permanent stalls where merchants who did regular business could set up their merchandise and an open area where country folk, usually women, could bring in agricultural produce and sell it from baskets. Near the bigger markets stood the dry goods stores and shops of various local craftsmen. Frequently run by

Hispanization of the Philippines (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 124-129; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), pp. 107-113.

¹³ *Census: 1903*, IV, 413.

¹⁴ U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *A Pronouncing Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 732-733.

Chinese, these establishments comprised the only permanent business section of the community. The market operated as the information center of the province, since it was one of the few places where people from the poblacion and the barrios met. The gossip of the market place provided the major source of news.

The homes of several leading native members of the community completed the list of buildings located in the plaza area. Since a native elite formed the body of local civil administration, quite naturally their residences belonged near the center of local authority represented by the church and presidencia. From a purely practical point of view, the more important citizens wished to maintain close contact with the source of all government favors. The government, for its part, could keep a close watch on the men with the most prestige and control in the surrounding barrios.

All the important currents of village life passed through or emanated from the poblacion; by contrast the surrounding barrios, more or less remote from the center of town, were devoid of such excitement. Here in communities of one or two hundred families lived the bulk of the tenant farmers, close to the fields they worked. Their landlords, some residing in the barrios, some absentee living in the poblacion, or Manila, provided their only link with the outside world. The barrios consisted mainly of peasant homes and the occasional *sari-sari* or *tienda* (general store) supplying the local need for kerosene for lamps, salt, candles, and other necessities not produced by the farms. Some barrios erected a small chapel that usually remained closed except at times of the annual visit of the parish priest. In general the monotony of the peasants' daily life was only broken by periodic trips to the poblacion when tenants went to see their landlord or to buy and sell produce in the markets.

Language alone endowed Pampangans with a unique identity and centuries of interaction gave them a sense of group solidarity. The people of the province tended to act together during such times of crisis as the Philippine Revolution. In

addition, prominent Pampangans received the adulation of their provincial compatriots who also looked somewhat suspiciously at all "outsiders" (i.e. non-Pampangans).¹⁵ Language always enabled Pampangans to recognize each other, and, for most of them, Pampanga was their home.

¹⁵ Even today the Pampangans regard with pride such diverse, locally bred heroes as Rufino Cardinal Santos, ex-President Diosdado Macapagal, Luis Taruc, and the late Pedro Abad Santos (the latter two were important leaders in the Communist movement in the Philippines) [Sol Hilario Gwekoh, *Diosdado Macapagal: Triumph Over Poverty* (Manila: G & C Enterprises, 1962), pp. 1-8].

There is probably no better example of Pampangan local pride and suspicion than is found in a history of the province written in the dialect by a native of Apalit. In it the author complains bitterly of the increasing role of the Tagalogs in Philippine society, and he fears that Tagalog dominance will work to the detriment of Pampangan culture and literature [Macario Siccion, untitled history of Pampanga, 1896-1932, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (unpublished MS in the possession of the author in Apalit), *passim*]. Also, see Henson, p. 174.

Finally, precommercial and preindustrial agrarian systems are not necessarily labor repressive if there is a rough balance between the overlord's contribution to justice and security and the cultivator's contribution in the form of crops.

Barrington Moore

2

From Datus Descended

OBSERVING THE changes in native society during the 194 years of Spanish control from 1571 to 1765, one cannot fail to note their continuity with pre-Spanish patterns or their slow evolution. This gradual adjustment of the Pampangans to the new regime over the course of nearly two centuries was possible because, the Spanish, deeply involved in the galleon trade,¹ brought no social or economic revolution and were more than content to allow native political power to remain with the old ruling class. The province was merely an outpost of an empire which had already begun to stagnate in a near-medieval framework, and Spain, suffering from limited resources and vision, simply did not possess the personnel to plan a new course of development for Pampang or to administer it properly. To

¹ The galleon trade was essentially an exchange of products from China for Mexican silver, with Manila serving as the entrepôt. Since hardly any native products were involved and native merchants were not allowed to participate, this trade remained mainly a foreign activity with which the Pampangans were not concerned. For a full discussion of the galleon trade, see William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939).

convert the natives to Catholicism and have them remain loyal to the government in Manila was sufficient. The Pampangans expressed loyalty by supplying rice, lumber, and soldiers for the disposition of the colonial establishment and, once these obligations had been fulfilled, were left free to manage their domestic affairs.

Pre-Hispanic society

In spite of some scanty evidence of late Neolithic culture in Pampanga, there is no proof that settlement was continuous from that time onward. Indeed, a mysterious gap exists between 1500 B.C. and 900 A.D., and the discovery of burial sites in Porac containing Chinese pottery from the late T'ang, Sung, Yüan, and Ming periods would indicate only that Pampanga harbored settlements from the late ninth or early tenth century.²

The use of Chinese pottery, which lingered into the early years of the Spanish regime, suggests long-standing links between Pampanga and the outside world, whether with nearby regions or directly with Chinese merchants plying the Philippine coastal trade.³ Nor did the Pampangans rely solely on such coastal contacts. An early Spanish account concerning the Pampangans and the neighboring Tagalogs reported that

they are keen traders, and have traded with China for many years, and before the advent of the Spaniards, they sailed to Maluco, Malaca, Hazian [Acheh?], Parani [Patani?], Burnei, and other kingdoms.⁴

² H. Otley Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces," *The Philippine Journal of Science*, LXXVII (July-August 1947), 226-227. For a fuller account of the findings at two sites (called "Gubat" and "Balukbuk") in Hacienda Ramona, Porac, see Alfredo E. Evangelista, "Field Work and Research," *Asian Perspectives*, IV (1960), 85-86.

³ Fay-Cooper Cole, "Chinese Pottery in the Philippines," *Field Museum of Natural History: Publication 162: Anthropological Series*, XII, No. 1 (1912), 10. On the extensive nature of that trade see Robert Fox, "The Archeological Record of Chinese Influences in the Philippines," *Philippine Studies*, XV (January 1967), 41-62.

⁴ "Relation of the Philippinas Islands [ca. 1590]," B&R, XXXIV, 377.

Pampangans went to Batavia as late as the first half of the seventeenth century, i.e. even after the arrival of the Spaniards.⁵ But, rapidly drawn into the Spanish trading orbit of Manila, they had given up their seafaring ways by 1650 and thereafter became almost exclusively an agricultural people.⁶

From a variety of sources one can discern the major outlines of Pampangan society just prior to 1571, the year of the Spanish conquest. Especially useful in this task is a study of Pampangan legal customs attributed to Father Juan de Plasencia, who wrote so ably on Tagalog society as well and apparently found some differences existing between the two societies.

At the beginning of the Spanish period, all of the major settled areas of Pampanga were situated along the water routes, mainly in the south near the Rio Grande de la Pampanga or along its tributaries a little farther north. The eleven most important communities were Lubao, Macabebe, Sexmoan, Betis, Guagua, Bacolor, Apalit, Arayat, Candaba, Porac, and Masicu (later Mexico), with the first three probably the oldest. The rest of the province was covered by forest and inhabited by the Negrito and Malay forest dwellers who were later to be pushed out as the Pampangans began to clear the land for their fields.⁷ The residents of the southern towns, primarily sedentary farmers, lived in autonomous villages called *barangays*, which varied considerably in size. The earliest realistic estimate of population, in 1591,⁸ suggests that the area was fairly heavily

⁵ Bernard H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1965), p. 157.

⁶ The whole subject of the Spanish stifling of Filipino external trade needs further treatment. Hitherto almost no attention has been paid to this topic in spite of its obvious relevance to discussions of continuity in native society before and after the conquest. Such matters have been considered seriously in the Indonesian context since they were raised by Jacob van Leur in *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955).

⁷ Luther Parker, "Some Notes on Pampanga," (n.d., unpublished MS), LPC, p. 3.

⁸ This estimate of 39,900 "souls" only covers the population of five communities in Pampanga: Betis, Lubao, Macabebe, Candaba, and Apalit

settled, even two decades earlier. Rice was the major crop (judging from how quickly the Spaniards came to depend on the Pampanga staple) though fish, meat, and fruit were also in adequate supply.

The Pampangans seem to have possessed a fairly advanced material culture. Not only was Chinese pottery used extensively but these people wove their own cloth out of cotton obtained by barter for rice from other groups to the south and may have achieved considerable skill in metal working, for a native of Pampanga, Pandaypira, cast cannons for the Spanish.⁹

In terms of religion, at least one community, Lubao, had come under the influence of the Muslim thrust from the south, just as a number of western Luzon communities with access to the coast had been converted to the new faith.¹⁰ An official Spanish report in 1576 stated:

[Pampanga] has two rivers, one called Bitis and the other Lubao, along whose banks dwell three thousand five hundred Moros, more or less, all tillers of the soil.¹¹

The above was one of the very few references to an Islamic community in Pampanga, but perhaps Muslims inhabited Betis and Macabebe as well. In 1571, a force from Macabebe under their own chief fought with Raja Soliman (possibly from Lubao) against the Spaniards at Tondo.¹² Later, in 1572, only Lubao and Betis resisted the Spanish; in fact, the conquerors

["Relación de las encomiendas existentes en Filipinas, el día 31 de mayo de 1591 años," pp. 10-12, in W. E. Retana, *Archivo del bibliófilo filipino*, IV (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1898).

⁹ On Pampangan material culture see Antonio de Morga, *Historical Events of the Philippines*, trans. H. E. J. S. Stanley (Centennial Edition; Manila: Jose Rizal Centennial Commission, 1962), (original 1609), pp. 23, 266; Letter from Alcalde Juan de Alcega, Pampanga, May 13, 1591, to Governor-General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, B&R, VIII, 79-95.

¹⁰ Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, "Islam—Surrender to God," *Philippine Studies*, XV (January 1967), 120.

¹¹ Governor Francisco de Sande, "Official Report to the Council of the Indies [June 7, 1576]," B&R, IV, 80.

¹² H. Otley Beyer and Jaime C. de Veyra, *Philippine Saga* (3rd ed.; Manila: Capitol, 1952), pp. 50-51.

had to skirt both communities and pacify them after the rest of the province had fallen.¹³ This military challenge to the Spanish conquistadores may well have resulted from Islamic presence in those towns. However, other than the armed opposition of Islam to the advancing Spaniards, no evidence has survived of the faith's penetration into the province. No mention was made of mosques or religious worship among the people or even how long ago they had been converted. Certainly the area was not entirely Islamic since many people still practiced animistic rites. An early Spaniard observed:

Their houses are filled with wooden and stone idols . . . for they had no temples. They said that the soul entered into one of those idols at the death of any of their parents or children. Consequently, they revered them and asked them for life, health and riches. Those idols were called *anitos*.¹⁴

Pampangan village society appears to have contained three classes: the chiefs or *datus*; the freemen or *timagua* (*timawa* in Capampangan); and the slaves.¹⁵ The datu of the barangay normally determined when the planting and harvesting were to take place, served as military leader, and was judge in most cases not involving himself. A datu held a special position before the law and could only be tried in special cases by a tribunal of *datus* from nearby villages. Nevertheless, the datu did not wield absolute power in the village. In the first place, he was bound in most of his actions by a traditional code that imposed limits upon his behavior and prescribed definite procedures in judicial matters. Secondly, though the position of datu seems to have been hereditary, only the most powerful one ruled the village. With several in any village, a datu could be replaced if his position weakened through excesses or for other reasons.

¹³ Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, O.S.A., *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1893), I, 469-471; Esteban Vitug, "Pueblo of Lubao," LPC, pp. 1, 5.

¹⁴ "Relation of the Philippinas Islands," B&R, XXXIV, 378.

¹⁵ Plasencia does not give the Capampangan term for slave, but Bergaño suggests two possibilities: *alipan* and *anac diqing*.

The position was by no means one of complete control unless a specific datu demonstrated enough strength to enforce his power by sheer might. Aside from his executive, judicial, and military power, he had no special occupation. He, too, farmed and wove his own cloth like the other members of the community.

Below the datus were a group of people known as the timawa or freemen. Aside from certain responsibilities to the datu at the busy time of the agricultural year, the timawa were able to devote the rest of the time to their own pursuits. Free-men were subject to the datu in legal cases but possessed a privileged position relative to the slave class, with their right to own property and marry freely. Beneath the timawa stood the slaves. Slavery meant primarily severe debt peonage rather than chattel slavery and was not a permanent state. Manumission by paying back debts was possible, and a timawa could become a slave by failure to pay a private debt or a legal fine. Slavery was hereditary, and the children could be separated from their parents if the slave had more than one owner. On the other hand, a slave and a timawa could marry, in which case only half of the children could be held in servitude. A slave was bound to full service to his or her master and was subject to severe penalties for violation of the law. There is no information on what percentage of people were slave or free but, given the elaborate laws dealing with penalties for both groups, there can be little doubt that there were many members in each.¹⁶

Plasencia in his account of Pampangan laws did not mention a class of noblemen comparable to the *maharlica* (lords) described in his study of the Tagalogs.¹⁷ Such evidence of independent development in neighboring societies tends to confirm the theory that even pre-Spanish rural Philippine society was heterogeneous.

The idea of private property in the form of slaves, gold, and homes did exist in Pampanga: property could be forfeited

¹⁶ Juan de Plasencia, O.S.F., "Customs of the Pampangas in Their Lawsuits [ca. 1589]," B&R, XVI, 321-329.

¹⁷ Juan de Plasencia, O.S.F., "Customs of the Tagalogs [1589]," B&R, VII, 173-196, *passim*.

for crimes, given as a dowry, and willed to children. Yet, seemingly, agricultural land belonged not to the individual but to the community and was under the supervision of the datu as to its use only. Shares were based on the number of people working the land, which meant that a slaveholder received more of the harvest than an individual farmer.

Plasencia's writing contained no hint of supra-barangay organization prior to 1571. Raja Soliman, who led a combined force against the Spaniards, has been called by one writer "the most powerful of the chiefs of the region,"¹⁸ but it may be his strength lay in his ability to convince rather than command other datos to fight with him. Or, conceivably, it was only the common cause of Islamic resistance that held the army together.

In sum, the institutions of sixteenth-century Pampanga were well adapted to the basic needs of the environment. The agricultural system was producing food in surplus, craft skills had reached significant levels, and trade brought contact with the outside world. A code of customary law prevailed to preserve order, a functioning system of local government existed, and the class structure offered relative security for members of the community—indeed, was so useful and resilient that it persisted in somewhat modified form well into the twentieth century. Native society showed great strength and, as we shall see, survived the imposition of Spanish authority, remaining intact for more than three centuries.

Social and economic Hispanization

Following the defeat of Raja Soliman in 1571, the conquest of Pampanga proceeded fairly rapidly. The only real resistance came from Lubao and Betis, but by 1572 priests resided in both communities. So complete was the conquest that in 1574 Pampangan soldiers fought by the side of their conquerors to repel the attacks of the Chinese pirate Limahong. By 1597 August-

¹⁸ Edward J. McCarthy, *Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), p. 82.

tinian friars manned churches in all eleven of the major Pampangan communities.

In spite of serious problems of corruption and maladministration among the clergy in the early years of the seventeenth century (mainly because of rivalry between Mexican and Spanish friars), by 1612 there were 28,200 Pampangans eligible to receive the sacraments,¹⁹ and probably by the middle of the century almost all of the natives came under the sway of the Catholic Church. With the addition of churches in Magalang in 1606, and in Minalin in 1650, there were thirteen Augustinian missions in the area before the close of the seventeenth century. Pampangan settlement still remained primarily along the water routes, except for the missions of Porac and Magalang, both inland, which the church maintained for nomadic Negritos and forest Malays.²⁰ Corpuz has observed that the Spanish forced resettlement in many areas of the Philippines in order to facilitate conversion and administration of the natives. This resettlement was not necessary in Pampanga because the Pampangans were already sedentary people who showed themselves susceptible to the preaching of the friars. All that remained for the latter to do was to move into the established communities, set up their missions, and later build their churches. The exceptions, of course, were Magalang and Porac, which stayed almost to the nineteenth century as mission stations, though even in these two communities the people were encouraged (usually without much success) rather than forced to settle in the vicinity of the church.

In the eighteenth century, the erection of churches indicated the rise of new settlements at Mabalacat (1712), Santa Rita (1726), San Fernando (1756), Santa Ana (1759), San Luis

¹⁹ Gregorio López *et al.*, "Status of Missions in the Philippines [ca. 1612]," B&R, XVII, 193-194.

²⁰ Antonio Mozo, *Noticia historico natural de los gloriosos triumphos y felices adelantamientos conseguidos en el presente siglo por los religiosos del orden de N.P.S. Agustin en las misiones que tienen à su cargo en las islas Philipinas, y en el grande imperio de la China . . .* (Madrid: A. Ortega, 1763), p. 28.

(1762), Santo Tomas (1767), and San Simon (1771).²¹ Mabalacat, like Magalang and Porac, was a forest outpost. The other new communities were located in the rice-growing south and were merely extensions of older towns which had spread out due to population growth and increased rice cultivation. San Fernando, for example, had its origin when outlying barangays (now called barrios) formerly within the sphere of Bacolor and Mexico²² became large enough to form a new center. The fact that it was new is reflected in its Spanish rather than Pampangan name. This process was repeated in all the towns named after saints. The pattern, then, was not one of migration to the northern forest lands but rather of an expansion of older communities through a slow, steady growth of population over roughly two hundred years.²³

Manila came very early to depend on the fields of Pampanga for its food. Governor de Sande wrote in 1576:

The province which in all this island of Lucon produces the most grain is that called Pampanga. . . . This city [Manila] and all this region is provided with food—namely, rice which is the bread here—

²¹ Parker, p. 6; Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns* (4th ed. rev.; Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1965), p. 113. Casimiro Viray, "Historia del San Luis, de la Provencia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas," LPC, p. 5. Although Santo Tomas and San Simon were established after 1765, both settlements developed during the period under consideration.

²² Clemente Ocampo, "Datos historicos sobre el pueblo de San Fernando, cabecera de la Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 1.

²³ The creation of new towns is a better indicator of the growth of population than the existing census figures. The most reliable estimates for Pampanga prior to 1850 are: 1591, 50,000–60,000; 1818, 106,381. The first figure is no more than an educated guess, and the second includes the province of Tarlac [U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *A Pronouncing Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 30, footnote 10]. The slow rise in population may well have been due to periodic epidemics like the one of influenza which struck Pampanga in 1688. This epidemic followed a year of drought and locust plague in 1687 which probably led to extremely short crops and subsequently weakness and starvation [Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., "Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas," B&R, XLII, 268–269].

by this province; so that if the rice harvest should fail there, there would be no place where it could be obtained.²⁴

Again and again during the seventeenth century, Spanish reports refer to the fecundity of Pampanga and to the dependence of the city of Manila upon its rice.²⁵ As late as 1766, the Frenchman Le Gentil still marveled at the great fertility of Pampanga which could produce two rice crops a year.²⁶ In addition, the settled areas of Pampanga along the river routes opened onto Manila Bay, permitting easy delivery by boat at a time when water was the only means of transportation. For example, the Ilocos region to the north, while as fertile as Pampanga, could only send food to Manila when the prevailing winds were adequate for sailing down the west coast of Luzon. Thus it was the combination of highly fertile soil and easy access to Manila that made Pampanga especially valuable to the Spanish settlement. And the dependence of the government on the province undoubtedly encouraged officials to maintain good relations with Pampanga's leaders.

Yet the province could not always meet the needs of Manila, and on at least one occasion the Spanish were responsible for the Pampangan failure. In 1583, Pampangans were sent to work in the gold mines of Ilocos and not allowed to return in time for the planting season. In the following year when great food shortages ensued in both Pampanga and Manila, over one thousand people starved to death in the area of Lubao alone.²⁷ The famine of 1584 and the corruption and harsh exac-

²⁴ De Sande, "Official Report," p. 80. See also, "Ordinance of the Royal Audiencia, December 7, 1598," B&R, X, 307-309.

²⁵ See, for example, Juan de Medina, "Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín de Estas Islas Filipinas [1630]," B&R, XXIII, 244-245; Letter from Fiscal Rodrigo Díaz Guiral, Manila, July, 1606, to King Philip III, B&R, XIV, 157-158; "Description of the Philippines, 1618," B&R, XVIII, 96.

²⁶ Guillaume Joseph Hyacinthe Jean Baptiste Le Gentil de la Galaisiere, *A Voyage to the Indian Seas*, trans. Frederick C. Fischer (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1964), p. 36.

²⁷ Letter from Fray Domingo de Salazar, Manila, 1583, to King Philip II, B&R, V, 212-221.

tions of Spanish officials led to a rebellion and an attempted invasion of Manila; only army intervention prevented its success.²⁸ But there was no more unrest for the next eighty years. The number of Spaniards and Chinese entering the city leveled off, the Spaniards learned the necessity of treating the natives of Pampanga properly, and the farmers learned to increase production to meet the demands of their conquerors.

Pampanga was subject to three different taxes in the seventeenth century: the *polo*, the *vandala*, and the head tax (tribute). The *polo* was a system of corvée used primarily to build and maintain the Spanish defense fleet and harbor installations. Pampanga supplied woodcutters, shipbuilders, and various other laborers in fulfillment of the *polo*. The *vandala* was in essence a tax exaction of rice to feed the Spanish army and navy. Both the *polo* and the *vandala* were imposed extensively during the Dutch wars from 1608 to 1648 but less and less frequently thereafter. There was no such abatement of the head tax because Manila continued to need rice and the head tax, usually paid in rice, was the city's main source of supply. In addition, there were continual demands for lumber. In 1707, for example, when the seminary of St. Clement was established in Manila, the Pampangans were called upon to supply the lumber.²⁹ Moreover, many Manila galleons of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were also constructed of Pampangan lumber.

Only once did anything happen to mar the Pampangans' record of loyal and valuable service to the Spanish up to 1896. In 1660 one group of woodcutters protested the *polo*, but a brief display of force by the Spaniards, government promises of amelioration, and the lack of support from most Pampangan leaders ended the unrest without a single battle or death.³⁰ The

²⁸ Letter from Don Juan Ronquillo, Manila, June 24, 1586, to King Philip II, B&R, VI, 238.

²⁹ Pedro Rubio Merino, *Don Diego Camacho y Avila, Arzobispo de Manila y de Guadalajara de México, 1695-1712* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1958), p. 421.

³⁰ Díaz, XXXVIII, 139-166.

Pampangan chief most instrumental in suppressing the woodcutters' revolt, Don Juan Macapagal, earned Spanish praise and trust and was called by them to lead (as Master of the Camp) a Pampangan contingent against the threatened invasion of the Chinese pirate Koxinga in 1662. Later he was awarded an *encomienda* by the king for his long and faithful service.³¹

If food and lumber were the most important resources Pampanga offered the Spaniards in the early years, manpower for the Spanish army was also very much in demand. As noted above, the Pampangans helped defend Manila during the threatened invasion of Limahong in 1574. In 1603 they not only took a major part in what amounted to a Spanish-led massacre of the Chinese population around Manila but also joined the looting of Chinese quarters afterward.³² As a result of their role in suppressing the Chinese, some Pampangans were awarded captaincies in the Spanish army, though it is perhaps ironic that Pampangans were thus honored not solely for participation in the slaughter but also for being the most "reasonable" and "civilized" of the native groups.³³ From 1603 to the end of the Spanish regime, a Pampangan contingent served in the colonial army. In the seventeenth century it fought against the Dutch and served as an occupation force in the Moluccas, took part in campaigns against a rebel group in Panay and against the Moros, and participated in another massacre of the Chinese in 1640.³⁴ In the eighteenth century, besides opposing the maraud-

³¹ "Events in Manila, 1662-63," B&R, XXXVI, 228; Nicholas Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines* (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), p. 107.

³² Miguel Rodríguez Maldonado, "True Relation of the Sangley Insurrection in the Filipinas," B&R, XIV, 128-135.

³³ Letter from the Audiencia, December 18, 1603, to King Philip III, B&R, XII, 160.

³⁴ Father Gregorio López, "Relation of Events in the Filipinas during the Years 1609 and 1610," B&R, XVII, 105; Letter from Governor Alonso Fajardo de Tenza, August 15, 1620, to King Philip III, B&R, XIX, 111; Letter from Governor Alonso Fajardo, December 10, 1621, to King Philip III, B&R, XX, 151; Letter from Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, August 20, 1637, to King Philip IV, B&R, XVIII, 349; "Relation of the Insurrection of the Chinese," B&R, XXIX, 214-215, 229.

ing Muslims, Pampangans turned out in full strength to defend the Spanish regime against the invading British.³⁵

Political Hispanization

Before beginning a topical analysis of the development of Pampangan society, some discussion of the administrative system devised by the Spaniards to govern the province is necessary. Though the Spanish relied on the Augustinian friars to supervise local affairs, they also employed secular officials, including native leaders. The Spaniards organized Pampanga as an *alcaldia* or province in 1571,³⁶ initially to meet the needs of pacifying, taxing, converting, and adjusting to Spanish ways the Pampangan natives. Legaspi and his successor Guido de Lavasares divided the province into *encomiendas* or areas of jurisdiction, which were given over as rewards for faithful government service to individual Spaniards for "civilizing." Possession of an *encomienda* could be very lucrative as the *encomendero* collected taxes and retained revenue in excess of the tax due in Manila. An enterprising *encomendero* could make a small fortune by collecting more than the specified amounts.

The crown reserved certain *encomiendas* for itself, the funds from which were to be used at the personal discretion of the king, but income from a crown *encomienda* could also be manipulated. The *alcalde mayores*, official government representatives in the province and precursors of the modern provincial governor, who served primarily as supervisors of tax collection for the *oficiales reales* (royal officials) in Manila, often used crown *encomiendas* as a source of private income. An unsigned government report of 1582 designated the office of

³⁵ William Draper, "A Journal of the Proceedings of His Majesty's Forces on the Expedition against Manila," B&R, XLIX, 88.

³⁶ Agustín de la Cavada, *Historia geográfica, geológica y estadística de Filipinas* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876), I, 235.

alcalde mayor in Pampanga as prone to corruption.³⁷ So profitable were the positions of encomendero and alcalde mayor that they were given by governors-general as sinecures. A group of Dominican priests wrote to Spain in 1610 complaining that an alcalde mayor of Pampanga, though incompetent, stayed in office because he was the relative of an important member of the Audiencia.³⁸

The encomienda system eventually turned out to be a failure in Pampanga. A sharp conflict in 1576 between Governor de Sande and the heirs of Guido de Lavasares, the second governor of the Philippines, over the disposition of encomiendas³⁹ was followed in 1620 by enactment of an ordinance turning over to the crown the jurisdiction of all private encomiendas in Pampanga and neighboring provinces, as they fell vacant, in order to insure that more tax revenues would reach Manila.⁴⁰ Although some private encomiendas were subsequently awarded, this ordinance gradually prevailed and the burden of administering the province fell increasingly on the alcalde mayors, or *alcaldes*. Furthermore, a Spanish law adopted in the sixteenth century, and kept in effect until 1768, prohibited all but necessary Spanish personnel—such as alcaldes, encomenderos, parish priests, and some soldiers—from living in the provinces. In 1588 there were eleven encomenderos and one alcalde, or twelve men with administrative responsibility.⁴¹ By 1738 there

³⁷ "Report," B&R, V, 204.

³⁸ Letter from Baltasar Fort, O.P. *et al.*, Manila, June 30, 1610, to King Philip III, B&R, XVII, 97.

³⁹ De Sande, "Official Report," p. 80; Morga, *Historical Events*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Letter from Governor Alonso Fajardo, Manila, August 15, 1620, to King Philip III, B&R, XIX, 149.

⁴¹ Letter from Bishop Domingo de Salazar, June 25, 1588, to King Philip II, B&R, VII, 35–36. Scattered information, difficult to integrate, on encomiendas in Pampanga can also be found in Letter from Miguel de Loarca, June, 1582, to King Philip II, B&R, V, 85–87; "Account of Encomiendas from Governor Dasmariñas, May 31, 1591," B&R, VIII, 101–103; "Report of Governor Rodrigo de Biberio, August 18, 1608," B&R, XIV, 245, 252; Juan Grau y Monfalcon, "Memorial informatorio al Rey," B&R, XXVII, 82.

were only 1,119 tributes under the care of encomenderos and 9,025 under the supervision of the alcalde.⁴² Sometime during the eighteenth century the last of the private encomiendas was eliminated and they are mentioned no more in the records.

Native rulers, now serving as officials of the Spanish regime, took up the slack created by the loss of the encomenderos. A series of Spanish administrative acts around 1600 created the *pueblo* or municipality system of government which the major Pampangan settlements one by one adopted over the next two hundred years.⁴³ In Pampanga, as elsewhere, a fair amount of authority was placed in the hands of the *gobernadorcillo*, the elected head of the *pueblo* and the highest ranking native in the Spanish bureaucratic system. The *gobernadorcillos*, charged with tax supervision as well as extensive executive and judicial responsibility on the local level, were chosen yearly, after endorsement in Manila, by a limited electorate. For the *pueblo* of Macabebe the names of the *gobernadorcillos* can be traced back to 1615.⁴⁴ The central government came to rely on the *gobernadorcillos* and parish priests to keep Pampanga's *pueblos* loyal and productive. That the job was well done is obvious from the record.

The evolution of Pampangan society to 1765

Given the above outline of developments, it is now possible to discuss in more topical fashion the adaptation of the Pampangans to the Spanish regime and the resulting changes in native society. The question may well be asked: Why did the Pampangans remain so loyal to the colonial government and acquiesce so easily to Spanish demands for food and men?

⁴² Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos de n.s.p. San Francisco en las islas Philipinas, China, Japón . . .* (Sampoloc: Juan del Sotillo, 1738-1744), I, 77.

⁴³ The *pueblo* was the old Spanish name for the modern municipality. For more on the municipality system, see chapter 1, footnote 12.

⁴⁴ Pelagio Nungaybungay, "Datos historicos del pueblo Macabebe, Pampanga," LPC, pp. 1-5.

Phelan speculates that it was fear of the Negritos and the mountain people of Zambales that led to Pampanga's heavy reliance on the Spaniards. Although it is true that the mountain tribes did occasionally attack Pampanga villages, there is no hint that they constituted a major threat. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Pampangans would have been less effective than the Spanish in controlling the Negritos who, the military constantly complained, were elusive, choosing to hide in the mountains rather than fight. Quite possibly the enmity between the Pampangans and the hill people was aggravated by Spanish actions, e.g. the Spanish suggestion that captured Negritos be enslaved by the lowlanders. Though the king never sanctioned this practice, he did allow the mountain people to be used as galley slaves. Also, at least one Spanish officer made it a practice to behead his Zambal prisoners.⁴⁵ The farmers of Pampanga could certainly not have antagonized the Negritos and Zambaleños more than the Spaniards did by enslavement and head-hunting. Furthermore, Pampangan loyalty to the colonial regime continued unabated after the mountain people ceased to be a threat. By the eighteenth century, relative security prevailed in Pampanga and the need for a Spanish garrison no longer existed; however, there is no indication that ties between the province and Manila lessened.

Certainly one factor in explaining native loyalty was the hold of the Catholic Church upon the people. Pampanga was one of the earliest areas to come under the influence of Catholicism and it has been argued effectively that on the local level the Catholic priest was a petty dictator who exercised great power within the municipality. Natives were expected to perform many personal services for the local curate, and native *gobernadorcillos* feared to carry out orders from Manila without prior (unofficial) approval from the parish priest. The latter stemmed from the fact that a letter of reference from the parish

⁴⁵ On early relations between the Negritos and the Pampangans see, Letter from Governor Francisco Tello, Manila, August 12, 1597, to King Philip II, B&R, X, 43; Díaz, XLII, 269-270; Letter from Governor Gomez Dasmariñas, Manila, May 31, 1592, to King Philip II, B&R, VIII, 241.

priest was required before a *gobernadorcillo* could receive approval from Manila to hold office.

It would have been extremely difficult, however, for the priests alone to hold the Pampangans loyal to Spain. As with the other religious orders in the Philippines, the Augustinians were never able to keep their missions supplied with enough personnel. In 1594 there were only twenty-nine clerics in the province,⁴⁶ and as late as 1848 only nineteen Spaniards, both religious and lay, lived there.⁴⁷ Phelan feels that religious work in Pampanga was more effective than in many other areas of the Philippines. Yet the Augustinians had neither the time nor people to undertake linguistic studies comparable to the ones done in the Tagalog area, producing a mere twelve books on religion in the Capampangan dialect in three hundred years of missionary endeavor.⁴⁸ The friars were burdened with large parishes at a time when travel was difficult and could not possibly have visited with any great frequency the area outside the proximity of the main church of each *pueblo*. Aside from their heavy religious responsibilities, friars were also assigned many secular tasks by the government, including *ex officio* membership in most local organizations such as the board of health, school board, board of taxation, and board of public works. The more tasks local curates were given, the more responsibility they would have been forced to delegate to others, mainly the native officials. While the presence of the friars in the *pueblo* helps explain the close ties between the Pampangans and their Spanish overlords, the answer is not entirely satisfactory.

Two comments by Spaniards at different periods come closest to revealing the true nature of the bond between Pam-

⁴⁶ Letter from Francisco Ortega, O.S.A., Manila, 1594, to King Philip II, B&R, IX, 103.

⁴⁷ Rafael Díaz Arenas, *Memorias históricas y estadísticas de Filipinas y particularmente de la grande isla de Luzon* (Manila: Impr. del Diario de Manila, 1850), chap. 5.

⁴⁸ Edward Gaylord Bourne, "Historical Introduction," B&R, I, 79; John Leddy Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), pp. 51, 60.

pangans and their masters. The first appears in Medina's *Historia* written in 1630:

'The people [of Pampanga] have accepted Christianity more readily than others in the Islands. They have more to do with Spaniards than the others and try to imitate them as far as possible. But the more they try to do that, the more do they show their texture as Indians.⁴⁹

Almost a century later, in 1720, another Augustinian wrote of the Pampangans:

They are very different [from the other Filipino groups]; for they are truthful, and love their honor; are very brave, and inclined to work; and are more civil and of better customs. In regard to the vices here mentioned [drunkenness and laziness] (for they are, in the last analysis, Indians like the rest), they keep them more out of sight and covered. In all things the Pampangos have a nobleness of mind that makes them the Castellians of these same Indians.⁵⁰

It is obvious that a great social distance separated the Spaniards and the natives; still, Pampangans made a real effort to accept Western ways. More than likely the ones most capable of imitating their overlords would have been the *datus*, who had the reason, time, and resources to communicate most with government officials and the clergy. Concomitantly, Spanish opinion of Pampanga meant mainly opinion of the *datus*.

The question can then be asked: Why were the chiefs so anxious to fit into the Spanish way of life? The answer goes even further toward explaining the relationship between Pampanga and Spain; it illuminates the evolution of Pampangan society in the seventeenth century and illustrates a mechanism of power delegation that was to be repeated time and again in Philippine history.

As mentioned in the preceding section, authority in the old pre-Spanish *barangay* had been based to a large extent on

⁴⁹ Medina, "Historia de la Orden de S. Agustín," p. 244.

⁵⁰ Letter from Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A., Manila, 1720, B&R, XL, 252.

the sheer power of the datu to control those under him. When the Spaniards came with their superior military and political skills, it must have been abundantly clear to every datu or potential usurper that future control of the barangay depended on the good will of the new masters. Inversely, the Spaniards were severely undermanned and, needing someone to maintain order and collect the supplies of which Pampanga was the most valuable source in the Philippines, found it to their advantage to accept the authority of willing local rulers rather than upset the existing system at a time when military concerns were paramount.⁵¹ Both parties were served by this arrangement.

The datu, or *cabeza de barangay* as he was now called, became a Spanish government official responsible for the delivery of rice and taxes to Manila and for the maintenance of his barangay's loyalty to the new order. In exchange, the Spanish exempted the cabeza from the various corvées and head taxes demanded of all other natives and, more important, gave him a new and more secure political status. The cabezas were appointed by the government and no longer depended on any superior ability to hold office. The position was made hereditary (always with the approval of Manila), and a ruling family could now be assured of a place of power through many generations. Some lines were undoubtedly broken when there was no male heir or when a particular cabeza was noticeably inefficient, but, as we shall see, some families continued in office for almost two centuries. The Spanish encouraged this continuity of rule by making changes difficult; no local official could be removed from office by an *alcalde* without the permission of the Audiencia in Manila.

The Spaniards went even further in setting local officials above the rest of the population. When the office of *gobbernadorcillo* was established, tenure was limited to cabezas only. The voting franchise in the annual election of the *gobbernador*-

⁵¹ The incorporation of native officials into the bureaucracy was already imperial policy elsewhere in the Spanish colonies. See Charles Gibson, *Tlaxcala in the Sixteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 103-104.

cillo had originally included all male heads of family in the pueblo, but in 1696 it was reduced to twelve appointed cabezas and the outgoing gobernadorcillo. The political elite also achieved an elevated social status; cabezas, gobernadorcillos, and those who had formerly held either office became collectively known as the *principalia* and were addressed individually by the title of *don*. It has already been pointed out that the government allowed only a few Spaniards to stay in any province before 1768. In addition, an ordinance of 1642 forbidding residence in native villages to Spaniards married to Pampangan women⁵² precluded the rise there of a class of Spaniards or Spanish mestizos who might usurp political and social position from the native rulers.

Within each pueblo political power and the accompanying social prestige remained the prerogative of small numbers of native families. This situation is best documented in Macabebe where the list of gobernadorcillos is complete for the 150 years between 1615 and 1765. Specific members of only thirteen different families held the annually elected office 105 times, or almost two-thirds of the total period. The most frequent office holders were various members of the Salonga family, who served seventeen different times—the first, Juan Salonga, in 1617; the last, Tomas Salonga, in 1759. The Centeno family produced a gobernadorcillo seven different times, the first in 1650 and the last 114 years later in 1764.

Because a gobernadorcillo had first to be a cabeza de barangay, i.e. the head of a barrio,⁵³ and because Macabebe through the end of the eighteenth century consisted of no more than ten barrios, the thirteen families must have dominated the

⁵² Governor Sebastian Hurtado Corcuera, "Ordinances of Good Government," B&R, L, 208–209. This law conformed to segregation policy enforced throughout the Spanish Indies. See Magnus Mörner, "The Guaraní Missions and the Segregation Policy of the Spanish Crown," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXX (1961), 382–385.

⁵³ The term *barrio* was used with increasing frequency in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by the Spaniards in place of the old *barangay*; the title *cabeza de barangay*, however, remained to the end of the Spanish regime.

positions of cabeza in the barrios for long periods of time, for there was only one cabeza per barrio. The fact that there were more families than barrios and that thirty-four other names appear on the gobernadorcillo list indicates that probably no one family dominated any single barrio for the whole 150 years. Still, the persistence of a small number of names on the list suggests long periods of control.⁵⁴ (Table 1 illustrates the lon-

Table 1.

TENURE BY FAMILY OF THE OFFICE OF GOBERNADORCILLO
IN MACABEBE, PAMPANGA, 1615-1765

<i>Family</i>	<i>First term in office</i>	<i>Last term in office</i>	<i>Total number of terms</i>	<i>Span of years between first and last terms</i>
Salonga	1617	1759	17	142
Duenas	1619	1645	9	26
Yabut	1621	1713	6	92
Songsong	1630	1685	14	55
Punsalang	1644	1717	5	73
Centeno	1650	1764	7	114
Dimasangcay	1662	1747	8	85
Tolentino	1698	1755	10	57
Zabala	1723	1752	12	29
Balingit	1707	1749	5	42
Daray	1720	1756	4	36
Punu	1684	1753	4	69
Sumang	1672	1697	4	25

Source: Pelagio Nungaybungay, "Datos historicos del pueblo Macabebe, Pampanga [ca. 1911]," LPC, pp. 1-3.

gevity in office of the thirteen leading families.) Control of a barrio may well have spanned a longer period as it is doubtful that an individual would have been elected gobernadorcillo immediately after his appointment as cabeza and some gover-

⁵⁴ Evidence establishing a direct ancestral relationship between eighteenth-century principalia families and pre-Hispanic datos can be found in *The Christianization of the Philippines*, trans. Rafael López, O.S.A. and Alfonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society and University of San Agustin, 1965).

nadorcillos may have continued to serve as cabeza after their retirement as gobernadorcillo.

The rise of the social and political elite in Pampanga under the Spanish system is fairly easy to document. How this group maintained economic control under the new regime is not so evident from the record and only a set of tentative conclusions can be offered. Here the work of Phelan on the transformation of Philippine society in general is helpful.⁵⁵

In the pre-Hispanic barangay, it has already been noted, economic position was based on slave ownership. Wealth resulted not from the number of slaves owned but rather from the amount of rice the slaves could bring in from the annual harvest of the village fields. The Spaniards, who arrived with an abhorrence of the institution of slavery partially derived from their experiences in Mexico, prohibited after 1591 all slave ownership by Spaniards themselves, though the matter was handled differently in Pampanga. Only three post-conquest references to the institution of slavery in Pampanga have appeared thus far. The first is in 1589 when it was reported that the chiefs of Pampanga came to Manila "to entreat the governor to command the cessation of lawsuits concerning slaves in Pampanga, until they could gather the harvest."⁵⁶ The second comes in 1598 when the Audiencia, under the great Dr. Antonio de Morga, tried to legislate against the multiple ownership of slaves in Pampanga.⁵⁷ And finally, in 1619, Procurator-General Fernando Coronel suggested to King Philip that the Pampangans make slaves of the Negritos because slaves, needed for agriculture, were becoming scarce in the province. It was not until 1692 that slavery was finally outlawed in all the Philippines.

Thus, despite its disapproval of slavery, the Spanish government was forced to allow its existence in order to ensure that Manila would continue to receive food. In 1589 when the

⁵⁵ Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, pp. 105-120.

⁵⁶ Governor Santiago de Vera, Manila, "Testimony to King Philip II, May 20, 1589," B&R, VII, 102-103.

⁵⁷ "Ordinance of the Audiencia, October 2, 1598," B&R, X, 303-304.

datum came to the city, they were apparently using the Spanish need for rice as pressure to preserve slavery. As late as 1598, the Audiencia could prescribe limits upon slave-owning but could not proscribe it altogether. Even in the seventeenth century some officials still saw advantages in encouraging slavery in Pampanga. The exigencies of the times still seem to have outweighed moral considerations.

Furthermore, as long as the cabeza's position seemed to the villagers to rest upon pre-Hispanic custom, the Spaniards could not do away with slavery, for they would only have upset the structure of society and jeopardized the supply system. With the conclusion of the Dutch wars in 1648, the need for rice diminished somewhat. The population in the meantime had already become accustomed to rice exactions as part of the tribute system and accepted the cabeza as a representative of Spanish officialdom. This would have been an opportune time to end slavery. Given 1692 as the date for the final abolition of the institution, it is obvious that the government in waiting so long to end slavery was making every effort to appease the more affluent and powerful members of the community.

Once the Spanish had forbidden the possession of slaves, the principalia had to find a new source of economic strength. The tribute system offered them an opportunity to maintain their position, for by collecting rice in excess of the tax demands the cabezas made some profit at the expense of the villagers. All the natives except the principalia had to pay taxes, so the cabeza's exactions were spread over a broad population base.

Parenthetically, once slavery as an institution was officially ended, all economic, legal, and probably social differences decreased between freemen and former slaves. By the beginning of the eighteenth century these two lower classes had probably become one.

Most likely the modern debt peonage system, which cannot be documented before the late eighteenth century, had its beginnings in the seventeenth century with the tribute arrangement. Villagers unable to meet the demands of the tax collector had to borrow rice to pay, and those most capable of lending

were the *principalia*. Debts between peasant and principal were formalized into an arrangement known as *samacan*, which was literally a contract whereby the peasant, or *casamac*, borrowed enough rice and equipment from the principal to plant and cultivate his crops and to support his family until the harvest. In practice, the interest proved sufficiently high to keep the peasant in perennial debt. By the late eighteenth century, the *samacan* contract was in common use throughout Pampanga.⁵⁸

In the process of establishing economic, administrative, and judicial position under the Spanish regime, the *cabeza* essentially re-created the substance of role and position that the *datu* had filled in the pre-Hispanic society. Certainly the *principalia* benefited from their course of action, but so did the rest of Pampangan society. The reestablishment of the role of the *datus* by the *principalia* gave the native a sense of continuity within the changing order about him. The presence of a recognized native leader eased the strain of growing more rice and presenting it to a foreigner, of cutting lumber for that same foreigner, and of serving in his army as well. The *principalia* became the buffers between the Spanish regime and the peasantry, interpreting the commands of the masters and hearing the complaints of the peasantry. It was precisely because of the long dependence of the Spanish administration upon native leadership that the transitions were made with relative ease, and Pampanga avoided many of the stresses that were to affect colonial societies elsewhere in the world. The responsibilities of the *principalia* were at least as heavy as the burdens they placed upon the peasantry.

By way of summing up the history of Pampanga between 1570 and 1765, we can say that changes in society were not so remarkable for a period of almost two hundred years of foreign overlordship. The settlement pattern and economic system persisted, as communities still clustered along the Rio Grande de

⁵⁸ The first reference to the prevalence of the *casamac* system in Pampanga appears in José Basco y Vargas, "A Decree by Basco in 1784," B&R, LII, 294.

la Pampanga and its tributaries, and rice remained the major crop of the natives, although sugar was gaining in importance. The only substantial difference was the larger size and number of the communities and the increased yields of rice to supply Manila.

Certain changes had taken place in class structure. A two-class society now prevailed as slaves became equals with freemen before Spanish law. Both groups were required to meet the demands of the head tax and the *corvée* and to accept the authority of the *cabeza*, *gobernadorcillo*, and parish priest within their *pueblo*. The old *datu's* position had changed as well. Where formerly he had looked entirely inward upon his village, he now found himself linked to the Spanish civil administration. The tie was not a weak one, for the *datus*, now called *cabezas*, depended on Spanish recognition for the legitimation of their position. The result was that they remained loyal to the Spanish crown and enforced that loyalty upon their people.

In spite of the changes in class structure and in the role of the native leaders, within the Pampangan communities there still persisted a class relationship between peasant and leader that had not fundamentally altered since pre-Hispanic times. This relationship paved the way for a smooth transition in Pampanga from native rule to Spanish administration from Manila. The relationship was also to ease the burden of Pampanga's entrance into the arena of world commerce after 1765.

The sugar after you purchase it from the Chinese is taken from the pots & oozed & put in sacks of about 100 lb. & is of fine quality . . .

Nathaniel Bowditch

3

Transition

FOR MOST of the period between the British occupation of Manila and the advent of large-scale commercial agriculture in Pampanga around 1820, traditional and new elements existed side by side in Pampangan society. Not until late in the period did new trade through Manila, open to world commerce for the first time, lead to a gradual expansion of sugar production in Pampanga. During this time an entrepreneurial group of Chinese mestizos began to infiltrate the ranks of the native elite. That these changes in such fundamental areas as crop patterns and composition of the elite occurred without causing a breakdown of the old social order can be attributed to several factors but particularly to the persistence of the traditional relationship between local leaders and the peasantry.

The expansion of Philippine commerce

From the early years of the seventeenth century until 1765, the export trade of the Philippines was limited chiefly to the cargoes carried on the Manila-Acapulco galleons. Outgoing car-

goes consisted almost entirely of Chinese goods brought to Manila for transshipment to Mexico. The galleons returned the following year bringing the cash proceeds from the sale of the goods in Mexico and enough extra Mexican silver to meet the needs of the government.

The galleon trade owed its long life to the Spanish colony at Manila, which enjoyed immense profits from the annual voyages to Acapulco. These merchants, adventurers, government servants, and clergymen maintained a strong voice at the Spanish court to ensure that Manila kept its monopoly of all Spanish trade leaving Asia and that no European ships were permitted to pick up cargoes at Spanish colonial ports. This heavy emphasis on the reexport of foreign goods stifled the development of Philippine produce for the export market.

It was Charles III who finally broke the galleon monopoly. His own first efforts to develop the trading potentials of Manila failed, but his general attitude toward commerce in the Philippines eventually produced a broadening of commercial activity. Between 1766 and 1783, fourteen royal frigates plied the route between Cadiz and Manila, carrying commercial cargo and encouraging private ventures. But the Manila merchants for the most part clung to the old Acapulco run, refusing to trade with these ships, and the crown had to give up the operation. Nevertheless these voyages had established precedents for a new direct trade with Spain.¹

By the time the last of the royal frigates weighed anchor in Manila Bay, the Philippines had been launched into a new economic era. Many of the changes reflected new currents arising in Europe, from laissez-faire notions of trade to demands for such tropical produce as sugar, coffee, and abaca. An extensive illegal yet officially tolerated trade already flourished in Manila.²

¹ Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955), pp. 107-109.

² Thomas R. McHale and Mary C. McHale (eds.), *Early American-Philippine Trade: The Journal of Nathaniel Bowditch in Manila, 1796* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1962), pp. 11-12.

Sometime during the 1670s, British vessels had begun arriving clandestinely to trade Indian cotton for silver and, on a smaller scale, Philippine produce. Such cargoes supported a profitable traffic between Manila and various ports of the Orient for the so-called "country traders." Either as British East India Company merchants trading on their own account or as English free merchants licensed by the company to trade in Asian waters, they sailed their ships under Asian registry to avoid the Spanish regulations against Western commerce in Manila.³ Although no accurate records of this traffic were kept before 1786, the sudden emergence of the East India Company after the opening of Manila in 1790 as a leading exporter of Philippine commodities attests to its substantial volume.⁴

In another attempt to realize the potentialities of direct trade, Charles III in 1785 established the Royal Philippine Company, a joint venture of government and a private corporation, to carry on commerce between the Philippines and Spain. The new company, envisioned as a means of turning the colony into a financial asset, had few restrictions on routes or cargoes and was encouraged to experiment with new commodities, including native products. Profits were disappointing and, from 1790 until its demise in 1834, the company took scant interest in the Islands.⁵ Still, its operations had solidified the pattern established by the royal vessels of open trade between Europe and the Philippines. More important, the company brought Philippine cargoes to Spain and America, establishing Manila as more than an entrepôt for Chinese luxury goods and Mexican silver.

After the opening of Manila to Western commerce in 1790, European and American merchants began an active trade in

³ Serafin D. Quiason, *English "Country Trade" with the Philippines* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1966), pp. 62-102.

⁴ On the regularization of English trade with Manila in this period see W. E. Cheong, "Changing the Rules of the Game (The India-Manila Trade: 1785-1809)," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, I (September 1970), 1-19.

⁵ James F. Cloghessy, "The Philippines and the Royal Philippine Company," *Mid-America*, XLII (1960), 80-104.

indigenous products that far outstripped that of the Spaniards. In 1796, the successful *Astrea* returned from Manila to its home base at Newport, Rhode Island, with a cargo made up exclusively of Philippine sugar, pepper, hides, and indigo.⁶ Between 1786 and 1802, foreigners shipped 235,452 piculs of sugar while Spanish sugar shipment, both company and private, totaled only 32,152 piculs.⁷ This new trade stimulated native agriculture, of course, but the Spanish government exerted some direct effort as well to improve agricultural conditions in the Philippines. The Royal Philippine Company expended large sums of money promoting better methods for the cultivation and processing of native crops. There had been an earlier government effort to introduce reforms, made by Governor General José Basco y Vargas (1778–1787). His failure, despite personal visits to many agricultural areas in the Philippines, including Pampanga, can be attributed chiefly to his limited resources and time.⁸

Dependence on Mexican silver until 1821 and restrictions connected with the galleons, in effect until 1815, retarded economic change in the Philippines between 1765 and 1820. However, the opening of Manila exerted a stronger pull and after 1790 the pattern changed rapidly. In 1795–1796, eleven non-Spanish Western ships traded in Manila; by 1818 the number had risen to thirty-six.⁹ The British established a firm in Manila in 1809,¹⁰ presaging the penetration of the goods of Europe's industrial revolution into all sectors of Philippine society.

⁶ McHale and McHale, pp. 52, 63.

⁷ Legarda, p. 134. One picul equals approximately 137 pounds. Of the Spanish exports of sugar, the Royal Company only shipped slightly over 8,000 piculs while private individuals exported more than 24,000 piculs [María Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo Spinola, *La Real Compañía de Filipinas* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1965), p. 269].

⁸ Clemente Ocampo, "Datos históricos sobre el pueblo de San Fernando, cabecera de la Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 12.

⁹ William Lytle Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1939), p. 59.

¹⁰ Fedor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin: Weidmansche Buchhandlung, 1873), p. 12.

Change was also apparent in the agricultural systems of many provinces in the Philippines, including Pampanga.

The origins of a cash crop economy in Pampanga

If the most obvious responses to the new economy occurred in Manila, the effects in many of the provinces were also far-reaching. In Pampanga the new demands of a world market caused a gradual shift from rice to sugar as the major crop. Sugar had been grown there since before the coming of the Spaniards, and significant amounts continued to be raised after the conquest. The first specific reference to the commercial use of Pampangan sugar came from Father San Antonio, who, writing in the eighteenth century, implied that by 1738 some quantities were being shipped to Manila.¹¹ In 1759, Nicholas Norton Nicols, a naturalized Spanish citizen living in Manila, observed that Pampanga abounded in the production of sugar but that restrictions of the galleon trade precluded its exportation.¹²

Nevertheless, during the 1750s and 1760s Pampanga already possessed five active or potential markets for its sugar. Some sugar went into the making of various native sweets and confections¹³ so that the province itself absorbed a share of the crop. Quite possibly sugar figured in the interprovincial trade that had sprung up by the late 1700s between Pampanga and neighboring areas, particularly Bulacan.¹⁴ Manila, as San Antonio observed, received sugar (presumably for consumption rather than export) along with the rice which Pampangans still shipped

¹¹ Juan Francisco de San Antonio, *Crónicas de la apostólica provincia de S. Gregorio de religiosos de n.s.p. San Francisco en las islas Philipinas, China, Japón . . .* (Sampoloc: Juan del Sotillo, 1738-1744), I, 77.

¹² Nicholas Norton Nicols, "Commerce in the Philippinas Islands 1759," B&R, XLVII, 258-259.

¹³ George H. Fairchild, Rafael Corpus, and Felipe Buencamino, Jr., (comps.), *Facts and Statistics about the Philippine Sugar Industry* (Manila: Philippine Sugar Assn., 1928), p. 37.

¹⁴ Joaquín Martínez de Zúñiga, O.S.A., *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Minuesa de los Ríos, 1893), I, 429.

there. In 1765 Francisco Viana, alluding to the extralegal English trade, noted that Pampanga could find a ready market for its sugar in all parts of India.¹⁵ And, finally, Chinese junks returning to Amoy sometimes carried cargoes of sugar. Since 1720, Chinese had involved themselves in the processing and collecting of sugar from Central Luzon and, no doubt, Pampanga's was included.¹⁶ Viana stated that the province produced more sugar than could be consumed in all of China (then certainly a limited market) and that junks brought it there.

When economic activity began to quicken in the archipelago, Pampanga already had the foundation for a new industry; farmers had acquired some experience with the growing of sugarcane, and there were inchoate processing and marketing systems. The soil of the province was well adapted to the cultivation of sugarcane, and "Pampanga purple" was one of the best varieties of cane in the Islands.¹⁷ The biggest hindrance to the industry had been the limited size of the available markets; after 1765, with that hindrance partially removed, Pampanga responded to the stimulus of increased demand by a significant expansion of production.

Figures are unreliable for sugar exports from Pampanga between 1765 and 1820, but the trend was generally upward. Estimates for 1795 place the exportation of sugar from the whole Philippines at between 4,500 and 5,000 tons per year.¹⁸ By the second decade of the nineteenth century Pampanga and Pan-

¹⁵ Francisco Leandro de Viana, "Memorial of 1765," B&R, XLVIII, 303. Díaz-Trechuelo calls Pampanga the largest producer of sugar in the Philippines in this period and estimates that the province produced between 25,000 and 28,000 quintals [2,756 to 3,086 tons] per year prior to 1788.

¹⁶ Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 94.

¹⁷ Anonymous Englishman, "Remarks on the Philippine Islands [1819-1822]," B&R, LI, 132-137; Felix Renouard de Sainte-Croix, *Voyage commercial aux Indes Orientales* (Paris: Archives de Droit Français, 1810), II, 232.

¹⁸ McHale and McHale, p. 31. Díaz-Trechuelo lists Pampanga alone exporting 44,000 quintals [4,850 tons] of sugar in 1793.

gasinan together produced around 7,000 tons per year, of which at least one-third went for export.¹⁹ Some years obviously surpassed others, however, for in 1818 exports in the whole archipelago dipped to 972 tons.²⁰ No one knows precisely which markets were absorbing Pampangan sugar. Nathaniel Bowditch, supercargo for the *Astrea* stopping at Manila, described the sugar he purchased as the pilon type processed in Pampanga, but sugar was also packed that way in several other provinces of Central Luzon. Certainly Pampanga retained a share of the local market, for Filipino confections continued to be made of Pampangan sugar into the twentieth century.

By comparison with sugar, indigo remained a cash crop of minor importance in Pampanga. The province began producing dyestuffs for the foreign market sometime in the latter half of the eighteenth century; the first official mention of it came in 1765.²¹ Though no author has attempted even to speculate on how much indigo Pampanga turned out, the industry clearly played a secondary role in the economic life of the province. Indigo served as a supplementary source of income and was sometimes planted in paddies where a second yearly rice crop could not be grown.²² De Comyn implied that Pampangans neither produced high quality dye nor made it particularly efficiently,²³ and no author places Pampanga among the leading indigo provinces.

Sugar was the principal source of the revenue in Pampanga for native cultivator and Spanish official alike.²⁴ The vacillations of foreign trade and the feared renewal of Spanish restrictions, however, tended to slow down conversion from rice to sugar

¹⁹ Thomas de Comyn, *State of the Philippine Islands*, trans. William Walton (London: T. and J. Allman, 1821), pp. 14-15.

²⁰ Legarda, p. 191.

²¹ Viana, p. 278.

²² Zúñiga, I, 462.

²³ De Comyn, p. 12; María Luisa Rodríguez Baena, *La Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Manila en el Siglo XVIII* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, 1966), pp. 71-72.

²⁴ Sainte-Croix, *Voyage commercial*, II, 232.

growing, and it was not until after 1820 that sugar became the largest crop in the province.

The rise of the Chinese mestizos

The increasing prominence of cash crop agriculture in Pampanga after 1765 was accompanied by an event of equal importance, the rise to social, economic, and political power of an entrepreneurial group of Chinese mestizos. Taken together these two phenomena led to an important transformation in Pampangan society. In order to understand the rise of the mestizo, it is necessary to review briefly the history of the Chinese community in Pampanga.

In 1603, a group of Chinese fled to Pampanga to escape a Spanish massacre in Manila, and after the danger had subsided many stayed on to form a small but thriving community in the pueblo of Guagua.²⁵ To the Chinese, restricted by law from participating in agricultural activities, this port on the Guagua river near Manila Bay offered a unique opportunity. Almost all of the goods entering and leaving the province passed through its wharves and warehouses, creating for the Chinese many possibilities for middleman operations.

Most of these Chinese appear to have remained in the port area, but a few ventured out into the province and took up other occupations. Two Chinese found some business trading with the Negrito groups in the nearby hills until their arrest by the Spaniards for allegedly teaching the Negritos polygamy and "the transmigration of souls."²⁶ How many Chinese ultimately settled outside of Guagua is a mystery, however, for the records offer little help. Some Chinese names showed up in 1650 among the founders of Minalin,²⁷ and an occasional Hispanized Chinese name on the lists of *gobernadorcillos* in other towns of

²⁵ Felino Simpao, "Municipio de Guagua, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 3.

²⁶ Casimiro Díaz, O.S.A., "Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas," B&R, XLII, 254.

²⁷ Cristino Lagman, "Minalin, Pampanga, I.F., documentos historicos," LPC, p. 3.

Pampanga hinted at the early penetration of a few Chinese into the countryside; for the most part, they remained near the center of commercial activity, establishing some of the longest family lines in Guagua.

Because of the dire shortage of Chinese women, the Chinese of Pampanga formed many alliances with native women,²⁸ and over the course of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries a Chinese mestizo community sprang up which initially identified with the culture of its male forebears. By 1738 the mestizos, numbering between four and five thousand,²⁹ had settled in Bacolor, the pueblo neighboring Guagua, and by 1746 had formed their own *gremio* and elected their own *gobernadorcillo*.³⁰ The significance of a *gremio* and the office of mestizo *gobernadorcillo* can be explained in a brief diversion.

According to Spanish law, after 1741 and up to the late nineteenth century, the population of the Philippines was divided into four legal categories: Spanish and Spanish mestizos, Chinese, indios (i.e. native Malays), and Chinese mestizos. Each group was given obligations, restrictions, and rights vis-à-vis the Spanish government. The Chinese, for example, paid a heavy tax in cash, were prohibited from traveling about the Islands without special permission, and could not engage in agriculture; the indios paid a small money tax, performed labor services to the government, but had neither traveling nor occupational restrictions. The Chinese mestizos paid a smaller tax than the Chinese, had a lesser work obligation than the indios, and enjoyed complete freedom of occupation and travel.³¹

In every pueblo a separate list or *padron* was kept of the people belonging to each classification. Where the Chinese and

²⁸ "Documents for the history of the invasion and war with the English in Filipinas, 1762-1764; faithfully copied from the originals in 1765," B&R, XLIX, 147-148.

²⁹ Zúñiga, I, 460.

³⁰ Pedro Malig, "Documentos historicos del municipio de Bacolor, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, pp. 1-2.

³¹ Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, V (March 1964), 63-65.

Chinese mestizos formed a large enough group or gremio, they usually elected their own head, called *gobernadorcillo* (at times *capitan*). The legal classification did not necessarily indicate the cultural identity of the Chinese or mestizo. All children of a Chinese or mestizo father, whether Sinicized or not, were placed on the mestizo *padron*. Whether a mestizo group acted according to Chinese ways or as Hispanized *indios* usually depended on proximity to a Chinese community.

The small Chinese settlement in Guagua maintained its cultural Chineseness through communication with the Chinese settlement in Manila and a small trickle of new immigrants. After one generation of intermarriage, however, most of the Chinese appeared on the mestizo *padron*, even though many of them still considered themselves Chinese. Presumably they elected their own *capitan*, but the incomplete records are of little help in proving this point.

As the community grew, many young mestizos were forced to seek new opportunities since those in Guagua were limited by the slow growth of the port. Bacolor, a subsidiary market town to Guagua, drew most of these immigrants, who established themselves in various commercial activities and eventually formed their own gremio with their own *gobernadorcillo*. Their business ties assured contact with their Chinese relations in Guagua, but, living away from the heart of the Chinese community at Guagua, the mestizos began to shed their Sinitic culture and become more "indianized."³² Though only a few

³² One of the signs that mestizos were taking on *indio* culture was the fact that they were changing their surnames. The following remarks by Edgar Wickberg indicate the significance and nature of the name-changing process:

Mestizo culture was a blend of Chinese, Spanish, and *indio* culture. One of the most interesting ways to observe mestizo usages is to look at the way surnames were formed. Sometimes mestizos retained the surname of the Chinese father, making such Chinese surnames as Tan and Lim Filipino surnames by their association with persons who identified themselves as Filipinos and were accepted as such. Another common practice was to create a new Filipino surname by combining parts of the full name of the Chinese parent. Thus, where the name of the Chinese was Yap Tin-chay, the mestizo descendants might choose to create a new surname, Yaptinchay, for themselves. Or, if Yap Tin-chay had been popu-

turned from their traditional commercial pursuits to farming, many intermarried with the natives and accepted local ways and manners. In the list of capitans de mestizos in Bacolor from 1746 to 1826, such Hispanized names as de Ocampo, Basilio, Mesina, de los Reyes, and de los Angeles reveal a mestizo rejection of Chinese descent. The Sinicized mestizos in Guagua maintained such names as Tang-gaco, Dy-yco, Cocueco, and Lim for the whole of the Spanish period. Such was the situation in 1765 when changes emanating from Manila suddenly altered affairs.

As Pampanga began the transition to a cash crop economy, the entrepreneurial mestizos proved willing and able to share in it. The need to transship the sugar and indigo from the interior of Pampanga to various markets offered new jobs to the mestizos. Farmers had to have money to switch from rice to sugar and indigo farming, and the mestizos had the capital to lend. The mestizos supplied cash for new machinery, cane cuttings, and indigo seed; they lent money to tide the farmers over as they cleared new fields and waited for the first few harvests to come in.³³ Sugar had a long growing season and landowners required

larly known as Yap Tinco, using the Hokkien polite suffix *k'o* with his personal name, the new surname might be Yaptinco. There are today a great many Filipino surnames that end in "co." Almost all of them have this derivation. Finally, since Catholic Chinese also acquired a Spanish name upon baptism, the mestizo descendants might simply drop the Chinese part of the name and use only the Spanish part. Thus, the descendants of Jose Castro Ongchengco might simply be known by the name Castro [Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 31-32].

³³ De Comyn presents (pp. 277-279) the following data for sugar, indigo, and rice cultivation in the early nineteenth century:

Comparative Statement of the annual cost . . . of a Cabalita of land [3.577 balitas equals 1 hectare] planted with Sugar Cane in the province of La Pampanga, viz.

For ploughing the said land six times . . . [Spanish] Dollars . . . [pieces;

8 to the dollar] . . . and . . . [centavos; 12 to the piece]	140
For harrowing do. three times	060
For enclosing the same with a wicker fence, stakes, &c.	409
For 4,000 sprouts for planting, digging holes, &c.	176
For repairing fences and weeding	060
For 14 sugar moulds	250
For expenses of manufacturing 14 loaves of sugar	1200

Total Cost, Dollars 2353

Comparative Statement of annual Cost . . . of 5 Cabalitas of Land sowed with 5 Measures of Indigo Seed in the said Province, viz.

cash to support themselves and their tenants until the crops could be marketed. The opening of Pampanga to outside markets also meant an influx of Western goods from Manila. Here again the mestizos lent money for their purchase. The interest rates were high and the profits were large.³⁴

The mestizos enjoyed a relatively open field for their business operations in Pampanga. A well-established Chinese in Guagua whose lucrative place in port activities could only benefit from the increase in trade had little incentive and less inclination to move out to pueblos isolated from Chinese culture. By contrast, the mestizos, who had already lost some of their Chinese cultural orientation, did not find it difficult to settle in the native pueblos. That the mestizos were readily accepted in the towns away from Guagua and Bacolor is attested to by the fact that mestizos were actually elected to the office of *gobernadorcillo* in several of the communities. The mestizos, indeed, were a fast growing group, their number jumping from around 4,500 in 1738 to more than 13,000 by 1799.³⁵ Bacolor could simply not support that large a business community, and migration offered

For ploughing said land once in 5 days . . . Dollars	120
For harrowing once, sowing and covering the same	053
Expenses of fencing in the same	1106
For 5 measures of seed	146
For making two harrows, and fixing the same	160
Expenses of workmen, and 25 vats for preparing the same	910
Expenses of Overseer	373
For 10 measures of lime	240
For baskets, stretchers, &c., to dry the same	040
Expenses of attending vats	310
<i>Total Cost, Dollars</i>	<u>3536</u>
Comparative Statement of 2 Cabalitas of Land sowed with 1 Measure of Rice; that is, of Cost . . . in said Province, viz.	
For ploughing said lands twice in two days . . . Dollars	100
For harrowing do. twice in two days, and sowing	110
For fencing do.	206
For reaping do. with 10 persons	206
For thrashing and cleaning 10 measures	220
<i>Total Cost, Dollars</i>	<u>840</u>

³⁴ José Basco y Vargas, "A Decree by Basco in 1784," B&R, LII, 295.

³⁵ Zúñiga, I, 461.

the answer. The mestizos had the reasons for moving which the Chinese lacked.

Another potential source of business competition, new Chinese coming up from Manila, was stemmed by Spanish law. Because of their collaboration with the enemy during the British occupation of Manila from 1762 to 1764, the Chinese population in the Philippines was severely reduced in number and prohibited from living in the provinces. For eighty-three years, from 1766 to 1849, the Chinese in Manila could not offer any competition to the Pampanga mestizos.

This left only the native principalia, whose dominant economic position weakened as mestizos moving into the province began to acquire their lands. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the principalia had come into possession of much of the good agricultural land of the province. Although originally most land had been either communal property or the property of the crown, the Spaniards had given the *datus* and their descendants ample opportunity to accumulate land, often making grants to *datus* as an incentive for acceptance of the Spanish regime. As time passed, the principalia encroached on communal and royal lands as well. Eventually the Spaniards offered them an opportunity to legalize their claims "by purchase and agreement with the tribunal of *indults* and composition."³⁶ It was these lands that the principalia lost to the mestizos.

When lending money to native landowners, the mestizos received title to their property as security and would take possession of any property whose owner defaulted on his loan through improvidence, economic loss in a fluctuating market, or destruction of his crop. Such a contract, known as *pacto de retrovendendo*, was the prevalent form of business transaction in Pampanga in the late eighteenth century and the instrument

³⁶ Basco y Vargas, "A Decree by Basco," p. 296. I am grateful to Nicholas Cushner, S.J., for directing me to documents from the Lilly Library, Indiana University, which list royal Spanish land grants to Pampangan principalia from 1585 to 1602. The grants, which varied considerably in size, were given to more than fifty individual Pampangans in Candaba, Mexico, Arayat, Macabebe, and Pinpin (Santa Ana).

of many transfers of agricultural land to mestizos. Money was also lent on house lots, carabaos, and farm implements. The lenders soon controlled most phases of agricultural life in the province.³⁷

By virtue of their increasing control of the economic life in the province, the mestizos were able to solidify their political and social positions, and Pampangan pueblos and offices became heavily infiltrated with newcomers. In Macabebe, for example, of the thirteen families that had dominated the office of *gobernadorcillo* prior to 1765, only four had members serve in the office after that year.³⁸ More important, between 1765 and 1820, thirty-one new names appeared on the *gobernadorcillo* list. A similar ratio of old to new family names after 1765 can be found in the records of three other towns, viz. Apalit (10 to 21), Candaba (6 to 20), and Minalin (6 to 31).³⁹ For other pueblos, the lists of early *gobernadorcillos* do not go back far enough to establish a clear trend. But in Mabalacat and Mexico the appearance on the list of Hispanized Chinese names (e.g. Pinping, Lising, Tuazon, etc.) indicate that Chinese mestizos had come to office by that time and perhaps had been there even earlier than 1765.⁴⁰

The picture of a lethargic native elite was confirmed by Basco in 1784:

And, as the backward state of agriculture in Filipinas proceeds also from the fact that, notwithstanding there are many industrious, laborious and charitable persons in the villages, there are also many others in whom sloth and idleness reign—for instance, many chiefs and their sons, and the heads of *barangay*; . . . all these caring

³⁷ De Comyn, p. 42.

³⁸ Pelagio Nungaybungay, "Datos historicos del pueblo Macabebe, Pampanga," LPC, pp. 1-4. Of all the names appearing on the earlier *gobernadorcillo* list, only eight show up again between 1765 and 1820.

³⁹ R. Balagtas, "List of the *Gobernadorcillos* of Apalit," LPC, pp. 1-3; Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe* (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), pp. 13-23; Lagman, pp. 17-19.

⁴⁰ "Documentos historicos del municipio de Mabalacat, Pampanga," LPC, p. 7; "Datos historicos del municipio de Mexico, provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas," LPC, pp. 8-9.

only to subjugate the common people by compelling them to work without pay in their fields, and trying to exempt themselves from common labor [polo] and from the other burdens to which those who pay tribute are subject . . .⁴¹

The mestizos were thriving at the expense of a tradition-bound class that could not or would not cope with the new economy.

Yet not all the old principalia lost their power. Initially they controlled the peasantry through the tenant system and the rice and cash through the tribute system. With access to both money and labor, they stood a reasonable chance of making the successful conversion to sugar and indigo farming. The presence of some old names on the various gobernadorcillo lists suggests that certain families did make the transition.

The old principalia had another asset that worked for their preservation: experience with agriculture in the province dating back to pre-Hispanic times. This background gave them an initial advantage over mestizo interlopers whose primary training had been in commerce. The natives not only had experience in farming methods but also knew how to supervise the tenants under them; both these skills had to be learned by the mestizos if they were to make landowning profitable. The principalia also possessed a thorough knowledge of the land and land laws and were skilled in registering claims in the Spanish courts.⁴² In fact, by the 1750s many of the principalia had sufficient legal training to argue their own cases in the provincial courts.⁴³

A final method by which native families preserved their position was through intermarriage with the mestizos. The most interesting example of the way the principalia perpetuated their social and political advantages through alliances with the economically astute newcomers occurred in Angeles. There, around the turn of the nineteenth century, the female descendants of Don Angel Pantaleon de Miranda and Doña Rosalia de

⁴¹ Basco y Vargas, pp. 293-294.

⁴² De Comyn, p. 42.

⁴³ *The Christianization of the Philippines*, trans. Rafael López, O.S.A. and Alfonso Felix, Jr. (Manila: Historical Conservation Society and the University of San Agustin, 1965), pp. 420-427.

Jesus, founders of the community, began marrying men with such mestizo names as Henson, Dizon, and Quiason. In the course of the nineteenth century these early unions branched into the twelve or so families that until recently controlled the social, political, and economic life of Angeles.⁴⁴

Intermarriage served as the final step for the mestizos in achieving high status in the province after 1765 and well into the nineteenth century. Although they moved to almost every pueblo of the province, the mestizos did not form another mestizo gremio anywhere but rather, having given up what they had retained of Chinese culture, became upper-class Pampangans.

Pampangan society from 1765 to 1820

When Governor-General José Basco y Vargas, perhaps the most able administrator of the entire Spanish regime, made his state visit to Pampanga in 1784 to encourage agricultural development, he was appalled by the prevalence of usury, foreclosure, tenancy, and destitution. Thereupon he issued his decree (see above) describing the inequities and laying out regulations to end the moneylending he blamed for the ills. But Basco had come to a Pampanga in the midst of economic transition; had he arrived in 1754 instead of 1784 he would have found conditions considerably more stable. The governor was witnessing the rise of new industry and the penetration of a new entrepreneurial group, the mestizos, into the superstructure of traditional society. Ironically, his decree tried to inhibit the mestizos from investing the capital that brought the very change Basco himself was advocating! He simply found him-

⁴⁴ Mariano A. Henson, *The Hensons of Pampanga* (Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1948), *passim*. For a more humorous rendition of the same story, see Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles* (Pampanga: By the author, 1960), pp. 8-10. During the occupation and the Huk upsurge, many of the old principalia families migrated to Manila; many never returned. In recent years the presence of the large U.S. Air Force Base at Clark Field has created a new group of native entrepreneurs that has seriously challenged the place of the remaining old guard.

self on the horns of the dilemma that economic change is necessarily accompanied by displacement and misery in some sectors of society. In Pampanga it was the native elite who suffered during the transition.

Pampanga's fertile soil had always made her a wealthy province, even in the days when rice farming predominated and most money was kept for the galleon trade. On one occasion in the early eighteenth century, Recollect friars, after a frustrating effort to secure in Manila the needed funds for their endeavors, solicited alms in Pampanga with impressive enough success to shame Manila residents into giving additional money.⁴⁵

In spite of the fact that money, tenancy, and some sugar farming formed part of the economic picture of Pampanga prior to 1765, the quantitative changes after that time brought on a new era. The following statement by O. D. Corpuz, intended to apply to the whole Philippines, accurately charts economic change in Pampanga to 1820:

Originally, the function of land in the economy was limited to the culture of food crops for the consumption of the natives. With the beginning of Spanish rule, this function was expanded to produce provisions for the Spaniards and commodities for payment of the natives' tribute and other contributions to the regime. Now [after 1780] for the first time, land became a factor of production in the national economy's new industry: commercial agriculture.⁴⁶

Land acquired a new value, for now it became a source of wealth and power. Furthermore, ownership of commercial-crop lands began to confer greater social, economic, and political prestige within the native community. Mere control of the labor services of others ceased to be as highly regarded as the possession of real property and fluid capital.⁴⁷ With such status devolving on those who owned land, the extensive borrowing

⁴⁵ Juan de la Concepción, R.A., *Historia general de Filipinas* (Sampoloc: A. de la Rosa y Balagtas, 1788-1792), VIII, 156.

⁴⁶ Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 31.

⁴⁷ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, pp. 128-129.

that Basco observed is readily understandable. The mestizos with skill, energy, and resourcefulness capitalized upon their assets and became an intricate part of the landholding elite of Pampanga, replacing those of the old order who could not adjust to the new circumstances.

The rise of the mestizos came at a time when the indigenous elite of the province were achieving a greater control over society than they had possessed since the coming of the Spaniards in 1571; this new control extended even to the priesthood. In 1773, because of a dispute between the Augustinians and the Bishop of Manila, the friars were removed from their parishes in Pampanga and not returned until the middle of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ During the interim, native Pampangan priests became curates in these parishes and, judging from the available records of their names, they appear to have been related to the native principalia of the province.⁴⁹ The Pampangans already had a long history of sending their native sons into the priesthood, beginning with the first Filipino admitted to the Society of Jesus, a Pampangan named Martin Sancho who was ordained in 1593.⁵⁰ In the late seventeenth century two Pampangans achieved prominence as secular priests,⁵¹ and in the early eighteenth century the Seminary of St. Clement was opened to natives with special solicitude for Pampangans in recognition of their part in supplying lumber for the seminary building.⁵² Like all Filipino priests, the Pampangans served as assistants to the

⁴⁸ Zúñiga, I, 464, 479.

⁴⁹ Esteban Vitug, "Documentos historicos del municipio de Lubao, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 5; Lagman, p. 21; Manuel Gatbonton, "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba de la provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas, precedidos de unas copias que; relatan hechos autenticos que versan sobre el origen de muchos pueblos de Luzon y genealogia de los principes malayas antes de la dominacion espanola," LPC, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Horacio de la Costa, S.J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), p. 84.

⁵¹ Letter from Gaspar de San Agustín, O.S.A., Manila [1720], B&R, XL, 278.

⁵² Pedro Rubio Merino, *Don Diego Camacho y Avila Arzobispo de Manila y de Guadalajara de México, 1695-1712* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1958), p. 421.

Spanish friars in the parishes of the provinces. Not until 1773 did they receive the privilege of running the parishes by themselves. As parish priests, the Pampangans appear to have performed their tasks adequately and with integrity. For a period of roughly eighty years between 1773 and 1854, when the Augustinians returned, only one case hinted that a native priest deviated from his priestly discipline.⁵³

If early pastors seem to have been all relatives of the principalia, the new names after 1800, although not completely identifiable, point to a strong possibility that mestizos were entering the priesthood. De Comyn labeled the clergy of the Pampanga parishes in the early nineteenth century "mestizo clergy."⁵⁴ Though he did not call them "Pampangan mestizo clergy," the practice of supplying local priests for local parishes implied as much.

After 1765 the new principalia of Pampanga gradually became an elite in the broadest sense of the word. Not only did they thoroughly control the economy, but they branched out into the professions, becoming priests and lawyers. Their growing contact with Manila through both trade and professional schooling meant greater opportunity for them to acquire use of the Spanish language, thus adding a further barrier between themselves and the peasantry.⁵⁵ For the first time on record, the leading families of pueblos of Pampanga began to intermarry with families in other pueblos, a phenomenon no doubt partially

⁵³ Manuel Gatbonton, in his history of Candaba ("Datos historicos," LPC, p. 3), wrote the following entry:

1797 Don Juan del Rosario—this gobernadorcillo was 'criado' [translation is either 'procreated', 'raised,' or 'nourished'] by the Filipino curate, and has been made *capitan* even though he can neither read nor write and is blind in one eye.

⁵⁴ De Comyn, p. 298.

⁵⁵ Spanish practice throughout the archipelago was to use the native dialects in instruction in the primary grades [Encarnacion Alzona, *A History of Education in the Philippines, 1565-1930* (Manila: University of the Philippines Press, 1932), pp. 21-23; Evergisto Bazaco, O.P., *History of Education in the Philippines* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1953), p. 58]. The only way for a native to obtain an education in Spanish was to attend one of the post-primary private schools in Manila, a luxury of the elite.

related to the movement of the mestizos throughout the province. Some idea of the growing dispersal pattern of these families before and after 1765 can be gleaned from Table 2. Of the eighteen families documented, four—de Ocampo, de los Reyes, David, and de los Santos—appeared on the Bacolor mestizo *gubernadorcillo* list, positively establishing their mestizo identity. A close examination of Map I in Chapter 1 reveals an interesting change in the dispersal pattern of these families between the period prior to 1765 and the one from 1765 to 1820. The families during the earlier period were limited, for the most part, to the small area of which Minalin is the center; after 1765 they spread out to the farthest limits of the province, including Mabalacat on the north, Arayat on the eastern boundary, and Guagua on the western perimeter. By 1820 the principalia formed a provincial elite connected by ties of marriage, business, and common interest.

Yet if the new elite bore little resemblance in occupation, or race, to the old *datus*, they did maintain a servant-master relationship with the peasantry that harked back to an earlier day. This gains significance from the recognition that the harshest effects of economic transition had fallen upon the old native principalia. The peasant had traditionally supplied the lion's share of the manual labor in return for the smallest rewards, and his situation did not appreciably alter after 1765. In the switch from rice to sugar, landowners rather than tenants absorbed most of the gamble. When borrowing money, the principalia offered their property as security and, in the face of disaster, lost it to the mestizos. By contrast, the peasant, bound by the *samacan* contract, could lose little if he failed to pay his debts; the landlord would usually carry him for another year in the hope of retrieving his money. Though Basco complained of the burdens of the *casamac* system, he neglected to note that risk rested heavily with the lender.

The principalia also continued as the buffer between Manila and Pampanga, interpreting official decrees and supplying the leadership traditionally recognized by the peasant. Upon entering the upper class, the mestizos had accepted many of the

Table 2.

DISPERSAL PATTERNS BY TOWN OF LEADING PAMPANGAN FAMILIES
BEFORE AND AFTER 1765

<i>Family</i>	<i>On gobernadorcillo lists before 1765 in:</i>	<i>On gobernadorcillo lists after 1765 (to 1820) in:</i>
Balagtas	Candaba	Apalit, Arayat, Candaba
David	Bacolor (mestizo), San Fernando	Bacolor, Macabebe, San Fernando
Dayrit	Apalit	Lubao, Minalin, San Fernando
de la Cruz	Minalin, San Fernando	Candaba, Mabalacat, Minalin
de los Reyces	Bacolor (mestizo), Macabebe	Arayat, Bacolor (mestizo), Macabebe
de los Santos	Bacolor (mestizo)	Bacolor (mestizo), Macabebe, Minalin, San Simon
de Ocampo	Bacolor (mestizo), Minalin	Macabebe, Minalin, San Fernando
Dizon	Guagua	Guagua, Mabalacat, San Fernando
Flores	Lubao	Lubao, Macabebe, Minalin, San Luis
Galang	Candaba, Macabebe	Apalit, Arayat, Candaba, San Simon
Gucvarra	...	Arayat, Guagua, San Luis
Lagman	...	Macabebe, Mexico, Minalin
Laxamana	Minalin	Guagua, Mexico, San Luis, Santa Rita
Mercado	Apalit, Minalin	Apalit, Guagua, Macabebe, Minalin
Paras	Mexico	Guagua, Mabalacat, Mexico, San Fernando, San Luis
Punsalang	Apalit, Macabebe	Apalit, Mabalacat, San Luis, San Simon
Tolentino	Macabebe, Minalin, San Luis	Bacolor, Lubao, Mabalacat, Macabebe, Porac
Yabut	Macabebe	Apalit, Macabebe, Minalin

Source: LPC lists; Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), pp. 13-23. There were ten lists from before 1765 and fifteen from the years 1765 to 1820.

values and relationships within native society, and their intrusion did not upset the system or create in any sense a plural society. The casamac system remained though the personnel at the top were somewhat different. The peasant's position vis-à-vis the principalia and the new economy was remarkably stable, so that in spite of economic change no incident of peasant unrest or hostility was recorded during the period of transition.

Between 1765 and 1820, Pampangan society moved haltingly toward modernity, impeded by the persistence of certain local institutions and by Spain's timidity in accepting free trade. By 1820 Pampangans had geared themselves to large-scale sugar production but were not yet fully committed to a cash crop economy. Markets still fluctuated, and some Spanish trade restrictions lingered on. The new elite, more mobile and business-oriented than their predecessors, needed increased contact with Manila to become more "Hispanized" than "Indianized." During the rest of the nineteenth century, the trends started in 1765 came to fruition.

We of the masses
Through sweat, tears, and sacrifices
Allow the rich the chance
To live in abundant peace.

Juan Crisostomo Soto

4

Cash Crop Society

FROM 1820 TO 1896, the process of modernization which had started in the preceding half century accelerated. There was a large increase in sugar production and Pampanga became a far more commercially oriented society, tied to the outside world of Manila and beyond. The greater importance of international trade and the introduction of machine technology altered economic conditions in the province, allowing the reigning elite, more outward looking than the datus of old, to share in urban Philippine culture.

But the tenant farmers, relatively unchanged by the innovations of the nineteenth century, continued in their role as suppliers of manual labor for their landlords, who in turn continued to give the personal, social, and economic leadership expected by their tenants. In the face of significant changes from outside, the persistence of this mutual dependency produced firm social bonds which held the classes together.

The growth of foreign trade

Philippine commerce entered a new phase after 1820 as the Spanish lifted old trade restrictions and Manila became de facto

a free port. Although the port was not officially opened to world traffic until 1834, when the Royal Philippine Company charter finally lapsed, foreign commercial houses dominated overseas trade from the 1820s on. In that first decade at least seven English and American firms¹ began to operate in Manila, and the number of foreign houses rose to fifteen by 1859.² First the United States in 1817 and then the British Empire in 1844 appointed full-time consular officials to handle relations between an increasing number of English-speaking merchants and the colonial government.³ Until almost the end of the century competition among these merchants marked the economic scene and produced a steady growth in foreign trade (see Table 3).

Table 3.
GROWTH OF PHILIPPINE FOREIGN TRADE
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

<i>Year</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Total trade</i>
1825	P 1,850,032	P 1,006,012	P 2,856,044
1850	3,178,249	3,573,067	6,751,316
1875	12,215,153	18,920,475	31,135,628
1893	25,913,870	36,187,966	62,101,836

Source: Adapted from Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955), pp. 196-197.

Accompanying the growth in volume was a wider distribution as the foreign commercial houses found new world markets for Philippine goods. An observer noted that in 1847 Philippine

¹ Benito Legarda, Jr., "Foreign Trade, Economic Change and Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth-Century Philippines" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1955), pp. 403-404.

² Sir John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1963), p. 191. Seven English, three American, two French, two Swiss, and one German.

³ Nicholas Cushner, S.J., *Spain in the Philippines* (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970), pp. 196, 198.

crops were transported to Great Britain, continental Europe, Australia, the United States, Mexican California, China, Singapore, Batavia, and Bombay.⁴ Even more significant is the fact that after 1820 Philippine domestic produce constituted an increasing percentage of the export trade; in 1846 native products totaled at least 68 percent of exports and that figure rose to 86 percent a decade later.⁵ With the coming of the Industrial Revolution, European and American demands for Asian produce changed. Around 1817 Philippine exports had consisted of a wide variety of commodities including copper, mother-of-pearl, bird's nests, tortoise shells, hides, tapa, salt fish, cotton, sugar, ebony, logwood, rice, and black pepper.⁶ By the middle of the century, sugar, abaca, coffee, and tobacco accounted for between 70 percent and 80 percent of all exports, with the former two making up two-thirds of the total.⁷ Not only did the foreign houses obtain the markets for these specialty crops but also they introduced new machinery, agricultural techniques, and credit facilities to stimulate increased production.⁸

Yet the biggest rise in foreign trade, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, can be attributed to several factors in addition to the presence of the foreign firms. First, the introduction of machine technology in agriculture was complemented by improved transportation, which eased shipment of produce to and from the ports. Second, the opening of the Suez Canal and the use of steamships made the passage to Europe quicker and cheaper. Third, the return to the Philippines after 1850 of large numbers of Chinese resulted in greater efficiency of middleman operations between the fields and the

⁴ Robert MacMicking, *Recollections of Manilla and the Philippines, During 1848, 1849 and 1850* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), p. 270.

⁵ Legarda, p. 222.

⁶ Thomas de Comyn, *State of the Philippine Islands*, trans. William Walton (London: T. and J. Allman, 1821), p. 284.

⁷ Legarda, pp. 403-404.

⁸ Antonio M. Regidor y Jurado and J. Warren Mason, "Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands," *The American Chamber of Commerce Journal*, V (March 1925), 22.

ports. And fourth, a general rise in the price of sugar, associated with the declining English use of West Indian sugar and the onset of the Crimean War, stimulated production.⁹

The import trade in the Philippines kept pace with the growing exports. Besides machinery, the residents of the Islands purchased textiles, metals, perfumes, carriages, furniture, crystal, wines, and many other luxury goods from Europe, the Americas, and other parts of Asia.¹⁰ Like the exports, the imports showed that the Philippines was thoroughly tied to world markets by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The advance of Pampangan sugar farming

Pampanga responded to the changing economic patterns in the Philippines by greatly expanding sugar production. Even before 1820 the province had become a leader in sugar, but, since the market fluctuated widely, most farmers had still depended on rice as their major source of income. After 1820, however, as the demand for sugar began to gain at a more or less steady rate, Pampangans planted more and more sugar, some of it in place of rice; by 1838 Pampanga had lost her position as a prime rice exporter.¹¹

Yearly production figures for Pampangan sugar do not exist, but the few statistics available offer some indication of the rise of the sugar industry. Around 1820 Pampanga and Pangasinan together produced almost seven thousand tons of sugar.¹² In one year during the 1890s, Pampanga alone sent

⁹ "General Information Relating to the P.I.," BIA, 2403, p. 7; Cushner, p. 198. Around 1844 the British had begun looking for new sugar regions in order to reduce their dependence on the West Indies where the crop was raised by slave labor. One of the first regions the English turned to was the Philippines.

¹⁰ M. J. Lannoy, *Iles Philippines* (Bruxelles: Impr. de Delevingne et Callewaert, 1849), Appendix 3.

¹¹ Rafael Díaz Arenas, *Memoria sobre el comercio y la navegación de las Islas Filipinas* (Cádiz: Domingo Féros, 1838), p. 54.

¹² De Comyn, p. 25.

between fifty and sixty thousand tons to market,¹³ an impressive increase over 1820.

Two factors help explain why Pampanga could make such a significant advance in sugar production. First, large areas of virgin land were available for new cultivation. Traditionally, the Pampangans had settled near the Rio Grande and its estuaries where there was abundant water for rice farming. Because of the new demands for sugar, which required extensive fields, they moved northward away from the river and began to clear the forest covering the upper portions of the province. This northward migration pattern during the nineteenth century emerges from the population figures by municipality for the years 1846 and 1887 (see Table 4). For the most part, municipalities with the greatest percent population increases were situated in the area north of the river, and, with the exception of Santa Rita, the municipalities devoted to heavy rice production exhibited the smallest gains. Also Apalit and San Simon, sugar towns, but south of the river, grew at a slow rate. In absolute terms, only northern towns registered a gain of more than 4,000 people.

The second factor, less important than the first, was the introduction of steam sugar mills, which increased the quantity, if not the quality, of sugar produced. Until 1852, farmers processed sugar in Pampanga by crude methods of Chinese origin dating back to at least the eighteenth century.¹⁴ Cane was crushed between stone rollers turned by the power of a single

¹³ Frederic H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1900), p. 240.

¹⁴ Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns* (4th ed. rev.; Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1965), p. 44; Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 94; Cleve W. Hines, *Cane Production and Sugar Manufacture in the Philippine Islands*, Government of the Philippine Islands, Bureau of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 33 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), p. 13. See also Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, "Bibliographical Notes on Philippine Agriculture, Prefaced by a Historical Sketch," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, XV (1922), 6.

Table 4.
POPULATION INCREASE BY MUNICIPALITY, 1846-1887

<i>Municipality^a (and area of Pampanga)</i>	<i>Major crop</i>	<i>1846</i>	<i>1887</i>	<i>Actual increase</i>	<i>Percent increase</i>
Angeles (N)	Sugar	3,640	9,546	5,906	162
Santa Rita (N)	Rice, sugar	3,325	8,389	5,064	152
Mabalacat (N)	Sugar	3,718	9,101	5,383	145
Porac (N)	Sugar	3,660	8,594	4,934	135
Lubao (N)	Sugar, rice	9,220	20,344	11,124	121
Magalang (N)	Sugar, rice	4,680	8,799	4,119	88
Sexmoan (S)	Fish ponds	3,510	6,289	2,779	79
Arayat (N)	Rice, sugar	8,055	14,040	5,985	74
Mexico (N)	Sugar, rice	9,345	14,721	5,376	58
Betis (S)	Rice	2,752	4,207	1,455	53
San Fernando (N)	Sugar	10,575	16,031	5,456	52
Bacolor (N)	Rice, sugar	8,548	12,920	4,372	51
Candaba (S)	Rice	8,155	11,542	3,387	42
Apalit (S)	Sugar, rice	7,910	10,598	2,688	34
San Luis (S)	Rice	8,115	10,765	2,650	33
Santa Ana (N)	Rice, sugar	4,880	6,322	1,442	30
San Simon (S)	Sugar, rice	5,560	7,008	1,448	26
Minalin (S)	Rice	4,965	6,239	1,274	26
Guagua (S)	Rice	8,375	10,074	1,699	20
Santo Tomas (S)	Rice	3,675	3,781	106	03

^a Of the three new municipalities created during the nineteenth century, two—Angeles (1829) and Floridablanca (1865)—were located in the sugar region of the north and only one—Masantol (1878, known until 1907 as San Miguel)—in the southern rice area [Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), p. 3; Arcadio L. Ramirez, "Memoria," LPC, p. 1; Antonio Bustos, "Pueblo de Masantol, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 9]. Angeles existed early enough to be entered on the table above. Based on Cavada's estimate for 1876, Floridablanca, a sugar town, showed a great population advance in the short space of eleven years, jumping from 3,603 in 1876 to 6,654 in 1887 for a gain of 3,051 or 85 percent. Because Masantol was created so late, no estimate of population gain is possible. There is no evidence of differences in mortality and natality among the various towns.

Source: J. Mallat, *Les Philippines: Histoire, géographie, mœurs, agriculture, industrie, et commerce des colonies espagnoles dans l'Océanie* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1846), I, 197; U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *A Pronouncing*

Table 4. (Continued)

Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), pp. 45-46. Information on crop emphasis in each town came from PNA, *Estadística Pampanga*, agricultural figures for 1884.

Mallat's estimates were chosen over Cavada's [Agustín de la Cavada, *Historia geográfica, geológica, y estadística de Filipinas* (Manila: Ramirez y Giraudier, 1876), I, 235-246] because of their earlier date. Mallat worked from the tax lists of the time, and his estimates coincide roughly with those presented in the *Guías de Forasteros* for 1847 and 1849 [*Guía de forasteros en las Islas Filipinas para el año 1847* (Manila: El Colegio de Sto. Tomás, 1847), pp. 308-309; *Guía de forasteros en las Islas Filipinas para el año 1849* (Manila: Los Amigos del País, n.d.), pp. 319-320]. The *Gazetteer* estimates came from the official Spanish census of 1887, the last one taken in Pampanga during the nineteenth century.

carabao. The juice extracted in this way was subjected to a series of boilings and poured into large earthen pots called pilones. As the mixture hardened, molasses drained out through a hole in the bottom of the pilon and either went to distilleries for the making of rum or, mixed with water, became a drink for horses. The cane, its juice extracted, was dried in the sun and used as a fuel for cooking stoves.¹⁵ The sugar in the pilones eventually hardened into a somewhat solid mass resembling rock salt and turned light brown, getting darker at the bottom due to the presence of molasses and sediment. The general term for sugar processed in this fashion was *muscovado*. By nineteenth century standards, Pampangan sugar rated high in quality and was suitable for shipment abroad.¹⁶ After being sent to Manila, it was crudely refined. Then the lightest and purest portions were mixed with other export sugar, the remainder going into the local market for the preparation of candy.¹⁷

¹⁵ MacMicking, pp. 281-286; Ferdinand Philippe Alençon, *Luçon et Mindanao* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1870), pp. 64-67; Sawyer, p. 240. A pilon of sugar weighed between 112 and 120 pounds.

¹⁶ Lannoy, p. 127.

¹⁷ Alençon, p. 67; G. E. Nesom, *The Sugar Industry of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), p. 47.

The only innovation in the muscovado process during the nineteenth century was the use of steam cane-grinding mills. The first steam mill, of English manufacture, arrived in Pampanga in 1858. Twelve years later there were 31 machines in the province, and by 1899 the number had grown to 177.¹⁸ In the absence of reliable comparative figures—Sawyer estimated that a steam mill could grind cane enough for ten pilones a day but he did not give the work equivalent of carabao-driven mills—it must be assumed the steam mills were considerably more efficient to have justified the farmers' investment in probably very expensive imported machinery.

In general, the quality of farming in Pampanga did not greatly improve. One minor change in the processing, spurred by the higher sugar production, was greater use of the woven sacks called *bayones*, rather than the more difficult to make pilones, for transporting the sugar to market.¹⁹ Yield per hectare did not alter significantly,²⁰ nor did the purity of the sugar. Increased production derived from the new acreage put into use and the somewhat faster rate of processing.

By the end of the nineteenth century sugar reigned supreme. Díaz Arenas, Lannoy, and Buzeta and Bravo all listed Pampanga among the top sugar producers in the Islands. In 1893 it was second only to Negros in total output.²¹ Moreover, a series of subsidiary industries had grown up: Chinese ran distilleries, peasants made pilones and bayones in their spare time, and some Pampangans had turned to cartmaking, iron tool manufacture, and *casco* (small barge) construction.

Both rice and indigo were declining in importance. Rice ceased to be an export crop before 1850, and the indigo industry

¹⁸ Cavada, I, 161–162; *Pronouncing Gazetteer*, p. 733.

¹⁹ Henson, *Angeles*, p. 18; Wickberg, p. 96.

²⁰ The Pampangans do not seem to have made use of the findings of the Spanish agricultural research station established in Magalang in the late nineteenth century. The station apparently did highly regarded work showing the benefits of fertilizer use in sugar production. See Edwin Bingham Copeland, "Spanish Agricultural Work in the Philippines," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, I (1908), 307–318.

²¹ "General Information," BIA, 2403, p. 64.

faded in the second half of the century. Pampanga still produced a medium-quality indigo as late as 1876 but in the 1880s, because of foreign competition, the rise of the sugar industry, and a scandal over Chinese adulteration of analine, indigo ceased to be produced in the province.²² From that point on, sugar became the only important cash crop.

Land and agriculture

The sugar boom exerted a strong impact upon land patterns in Pampanga. Not only did the importance of landowning itself increase but many landowners profited from speculation in real estate. The nineteenth century native elite, infused with the business outlook of the Chinese mestizos newly arrived in their midst, gained most from the new conditions surrounding ownership.

In spite of the confusion over titles in the Spanish period,²³

²² On the rise and fall of indigo production in Pampanga see Manuel Buzeta, O.S.A. and Felipe Bravo, O.S.A., *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: José C. de la Peña, 1851), I, 29; Henson, *Pampanga*, p. 45; Wickberg, p. 101.

²³ In general, the Spanish government never devised a satisfactory system for handling land claims and registrations in the Philippines. Until the late nineteenth century, all land technically belonged to the government with the exception of property awarded to the early *datus* and their heirs or land sold in usufruct by the government to private parties [José Basco y Vargas, "A Decree by Basco in 1784," B&R, LII, 295-296]. Yet during the nineteenth century many individuals obtained ownership "by virtue of undisturbed possession" [John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (2d ed. rev.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), p. 640 n.] of their property for a significant length of time; in other words, they had squatted on property long enough to be recognized as owners.

Despite the confusion over public and private holdings, the Spaniards made only one real attempt to establish a system of sound titles.

About the year 1885 the question was brought forward of granting Government titles to all who could establish claims to land. Indeed, for about a year, there was a certain enthusiasm displayed both in the application for and the concession of 'Titulos Reales' [Foreman, p. 640].

Only for a brief period, then, did Filipinos have access to clear titles. So confused was the land system that the Americans eventually had to set up a plan for a cadastral survey of the whole archipelago and the granting

the Pampangans had managed to acquire large portions of the arable land of Pampanga during the nineteenth century. Basco in his report of 1784 implied that most of the land in Pampanga still belonged de jure to the government, although some had already passed into native hands through common if illegal usage. Both public and communal lands remained available throughout the rest of the Spanish regime. Alençon noted in 1870 the existence in Pampanga of community lands and even during the last decade of the century Pampangans still purchased land from the public domain. Few of these later sales appeared in the public records. Furthermore, as public land became scarcer, the government had made acquisition more difficult.²⁴ In any case, it did not matter, for the Pampangans already owned large tracts which were freely bought, sold, leased, mortgaged, bequeathed, and inherited.²⁵

of all new titles. For a further discussion of land matters, see U.S. War Department, U.S. Philippine Commission, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901: Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), Pt. 2, 320-321.

²⁴ The actual amount of public land that remained in Pampanga at the end of the nineteenth century is difficult to estimate because no accurate data are available. The following two statements give some idea of the state of public land in the early twentieth century:

The total area [of Pampanga] is 224,812 hectares, of which 105,677 hectares is devoted to agriculture. . . . At present there is an actual area of 41,837 hectares of land uncultivated. Some of it, or about two-fifths of it, is public land . . . [Pedro Arcilla, "Ethnography of Pampanga," Beyer Series, pp. 2-3].

There is very little public land in this section [the central part of Pampanga including San Fernando, Mexico, Arayat, Minalin, Guagua, and Lubao], and what there is in the province, presents so many difficulties in the matter of obtaining a title, that it is not sought after. The surveys are not systematic and definite ["A Report on Economic Conditions, Pampanga Province . . . Prepared by the Class in Economics and Mrs. Lois Stewart Osborn (of Pampanga High School)," BIA, 363-296, Exhibit L, ca. 1913, p. 16].

²⁵ The notarial registers, *protocolos*, located in the Philippine National Archives serve as the chief source of information for this section on land-owning. These protocolos contain information on every type of commercial transaction from simple sales to formation of small corporations. The protocolos are perhaps the most complete and the most cared for records in the Archives. Twenty-seven protocolos for Pampanga covered commercial relations in the province between 1889 and 1896. Seventeen of these books

Pampangan farmers had gained possession of the land in their province in two ways. First, the government had granted land to the *datus* and their heirs at the time of the conquest. All of this land, located in the area of the older settlements, was held in fee simple. As suggested in the preceding chapter, some ancient grants were lost to the Chinese mestizos in the fifty-five years between 1765 and 1820 as the mestizos infiltrated and assimilated the old *principalia* to form a new entrepreneurial class.

A second manner of obtaining land, used in the late eighteenth century and more commonly in the nineteenth during the sugar boom, was through settlement on new land and subsequent claim to ownership in fee simple. Land titles could be purchased from the government or obtained after a suitable time of occupancy and use. In one of these two fashions of gaining title, considerable areas of Pampanga north of the Rio Grande de la Pampanga came into private ownership.²⁶

A classic example of the second method of obtaining land took place in the present municipality of Angeles. In 1796 Don Angel Pantaleon de Miranda moved to Barrio Culiati, a northern outpost of San Fernando. Here he chased out the Negritos, cleared the forest, and began cultivating the land for sugar and rice. The area around Culiati became populous enough in 1829 to form a new municipality, Angeles, and Don Angel donated some thirty-five hectares of his land nearby for the support of the Catholic church and its priest. The title for this *patrimonio*, however, was not expedited until 1885.²⁷

yielded 638 entries concerning agricultural land. Archive catalogue numbers for the protocols examined are: 1917; 1919; 1920; 1921; 1923; 1924; 1925; 1926; 1927; 1928; 1929; 1930; 1931; 1932; 1933; 1937; 1943. These numbers refer only to catalogue numbers and do not correspond to years. Future entries in this chapter marked "PNA, *Protocolos*" refers specifically to the above-numbered books.

²⁶ No statistics are available to indicate which method of obtaining titles was more commonly used because the land registers remained in the province and were subsequently destroyed during the Philippine Revolution [*Annual Reports . . . of the Philippine Commission*, Pt. 2, 509].

²⁷ Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 1-3.

As the nineteenth century progressed, and the demand for sugar and other cash crops rose, more and more of the unused portion of Pampanga came under cultivation. Farmers acquired land, used it, and transferred it in spite of the lack of clear titles. Most of the available ground in Pampanga went into private hands, and Pampangan landowners began to buy real estate in southern Tarlac. The notarial registers between 1890 and 1896 record a series of purchases by Pampangans in Concepcion, Bamban, La Paz, and Capas—all municipalities in Tarlac.²⁸

If the function of land was changing, so too was the role of the landowner. Where formerly he had served mainly as the manager of the work of his tenants, he now accumulated the added functions of entrepreneur, managing his estate and often speculating in land. Because sugar farmers needed capital and investors saw a good chance for profit, the *pacto de retrovendo* (or *pacto de retro* for short) which the mestizos had manipulated so successfully in the eighteenth century became again the most widely used land contract in late nineteenth century Pampanga.²⁹ The contract required an owner of a piece of land to turn over his title to a buyer with the guaranteed option of buying back the land within a specified period of time. Actually the seller was borrowing money and offering his title as security; the loan rarely equaled the purchase value of the land. In the early days mestizos had charged interest rates so high that the principalia often could not pay, thereby losing possession of their land. Also, contracts were verbally made and the mestizos sometimes claimed that sales were absolute rather than with *pacto de retro*.³⁰

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, contracting

²⁸ PNA, *Protocolos*. In thirty-two separate sales, more than 1,700 hectares of land in Tarlac passed into Pampangan hands.

²⁹ Fedor Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1873), p. 304; PNA, *Protocolos*. There are 204 entries for *pacto de retro* sales as opposed to 149 absolute sales and only 16 outright leases.

³⁰ Jagor, pp. 304-305.

parties became more adept in financial matters and much of the earlier exploitation was eliminated. Contracts were recorded in the notarial registers, ending the practice of claiming retro sales as absolute, and interest rates were significantly lower—at times nothing if a lender could profit enough from using the land to justify the loan of cash.³¹

Both seller and buyer possessed several options within the scope of the contract, and either party could profit from the arrangement. The seller could turn around and lease the land from the buyer for a specified rent, investing the borrowed cash in farming and use of his land which he could now turn to profit. At the end of the contract he could pay back the original selling price, plus the rent of the land, and regain ownership. The buyer in the meantime had retrieved his investment, plus rent and interest. A second alternative for the seller was not to lease the land but take his money and invest it elsewhere, in other land perhaps. The buyer was then free to use the land himself. At the end of the contract, the seller simply paid back the original price and repossessed his land. The seller might also turn the retro sale into an absolute sale for an extra sum of money from the buyer or, if the worst happened and the seller could not rebuy, the retro sale might simply lapse into an absolute sale. In a final option, the seller could buy back the land and resell it in retro to a new buyer for the same or a higher price, thus preventing his (the seller's) contract from lapsing with the original buyer. The buyer, too, had options within the contract. He could use the land himself, lease it to the seller, lease it to a third party, or even transfer the title in retro to a third party.

The complexities of the pacto de retro demanded a high degree of skill in economic affairs, and the landowners of Pampanga proved able enough. Certainly not all Pampangan landowners speculated, and not all profited who did. But the com-

³¹ The following analysis of the options within the pacto de retro comes from an examination of the contracts registered in PNA, *Protocolos*. All such options were used by contracting parties in Pampanga.

plex financial arrangements involved in agricultural transactions revealed the gap that separated the nineteenth century farmer from his ancestors of even a century earlier.

Although estimates of property holding were notoriously inaccurate,³² the estates of many Pampangans reached extensive proportions. The wills (perhaps the most accurate inventories of individual holdings at any one time) of thirty-seven landowners bequeathing land in the years 1889 to 1896 showed estates ranging from 10 hectares to 1,033 hectares, with an average of 155 hectares. However, the number of hectares provides only a rough indication of the wealth of a landowner, as the quality and kind of land determined its true value. A good piece of rice paddy was worth more than a somewhat larger sugar field or an enormous piece of scrub forest on the side of a mountain. Besides land, most estates included some machinery (such as sugar mills), livestock, village lots, and dwellings. The largest holdings consisted mainly of sugar land north of the river, with rice land tending to make up the smaller part of most estates. More often than not, estates were located in one or two municipalities only, allowing the owner to supervise personally his lands and the tenants who worked it. Overseeing men, machinery, farmland, and draft animals; dealing with middlemen in a crop market; and raising production levels all demanded a higher degree of skill and sophistication than the Pampangan had ever needed before. He was now the businessman, the *cacique*, with extensive power and responsibility.

Who were the landowners of the late nineteenth century? The records reveal that the majority came from the ranks of the principalia. Almost all land transfers were carried out by

³² The only landholding figures based on some sort of extensive survey appeared in the 1903 census conducted by the Americans [*Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903* (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1905), III, 250-324]. Unfortunately, these figures were based on farm management rather than ownership and, therefore, reflect occupation of land rather than private possession. A user of land might or might not have been the owner. Control of the land remained with the owner and not the user, so that the data are relatively useless.

people holding the title don or doña,³³ indicating principalia status. Even more significant, the greatest percentage of the land belonged to people registered in the native gremio. Many so-called "natives" were in actuality Chinese mestizos who had become the province's most active entrepreneurs since the late eighteenth century.

Landownership did not have the same attraction for the Chinese, who took little part in farming or speculation in agricultural land³⁴ but rather limited themselves primarily to commerce and to the processing of agricultural products.³⁵

A small group of Spaniards, freed since 1768 from restrictions against living in the provinces, joined the landowning class in Pampanga. The padron for 1887-1888 listed fifty-eight Spaniards residing in Pampanga of whom twenty-seven were classified as agriculturists. Several among the Spaniards possessed extensive estates, including one who owned more than 3,300 hectares, but the majority had landholdings no larger than those of the typical native owners of the province. The estate inventories in Table 5, the only complete ones still available, give some idea of the size and nature of Spanish holdings in Pampanga; all except the last came from the records of confiscation by the Philippine Revolutionary Government during the years 1898 and 1899.

Spanish landowners in Pampanga appear in general to have leased rather than personally managed their lands and, whether because of this or their small number, played a minor role in the total economic scene. The notable exception was Don José Puig, a dealer in steam mills as well as land, whose buying, selling, and leasing of machinery may have constituted

³³ The title *doña* referred to the wife of one of the principalia.

³⁴ PNA, *Protocolos*. Between 1889 and 1896 only eight entries involving Chinese in agricultural land transactions (all small parcels) were recorded. As correlative evidence (though not entirely conclusive), the 1903 *Census* [IV, 293] lists only eleven farms, totaling 397 hectares, occupied by either users or owners of the "yellow race" (presumably Chinese).

³⁵ Wickberg, pp. 94-96.

Table 5.
SOME SPANISH SECULAR LANDHOLDINGS IN PAMPANGA IN THE
LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

<i>Spanish landholder</i>	<i>Nature of holding</i>	<i>Size of holding in hectares</i>
Roberto Toledo	Agricultural land, much of it rented out	3,348
Vicente Bravo	Mostly forest land	140
Ricardo Herreros	Sugar land	42
Francisco Puig	Rice and sugar land	81
Rafael Gil	...	47
Julian Blanco	Rice land	51
Manuel Fernandez	Sugar, rice, tobacco, and maize land	252
Juan Landaluce	...	202
Dolores Lombera	...	1
Emilio Borrero y Valdez	...	222

Source: For Emilio Borrero y Valdez, PNA, *Protocolo* No. 1923, pp. 731-738; for the others, PNA, *Terrenos de la Pampanga*, Expedientes Nos. 30, 37, 40, 42.

a strong factor in the adoption of steam milling by farmers throughout the province.³⁶

In Pampanga, the Catholic Church cannot be listed among the large landowners though each parish possessed fields, sometimes under the supervision of native principalia, for the support of the priest and the church establishment. According to available data, the largest parish holdings were located in Bacolor and consisted of only 115.3 hectares. The lands listed in Table 6 were confiscated by the Philippine Revolutionary Government from church establishments during 1898 and 1899; by all appearances, they represented total inventories. Unlike the Tagalog provinces to the south, Pampanga had remained free of the large friar estates which caused so much native unrest and eventually led to revolution. Perhaps the answer lies in

³⁶ PNA, *Protocolos*. Puig was involved in the records in nineteen separate contracts of which eleven concerned the sale or mortgage of a steam mill.

Table 6.

CATHOLIC CHURCH LANDHOLDINGS IN PAMPANGA IN THE
LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

<i>Name of parish or organization</i>	<i>Size of holding in hectares</i>
Lubao	15
San Fernando	62.7
Bacolor	115.4
Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Angeles ^a	103.6

^a The Confraternity was an auxiliary lay organization devoted to good works. Their land did not actually belong to the Parish of Angeles, although it was managed by a priest, Fr. Juan Merino. For a really delightful account of what happened to this property in the 1950s, see Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles* (Pampanga: By the author, 1960), pp. 103-124.

Source: PNA, *Terrenos de la Pampanga*, Expedientes Nos. 31, 32, 36, 38, 44.

Pampanga's distance from Manila, the heart of the Spanish colony, or in the aggressiveness of Pampangan landowners in acquiring and holding on to their estates. Only a broader history of Central Luzon can fully explain this phenomenon.

Finally, a small group of owners of Pampangan land came from outside the province. Their number is hard to calculate because their land transactions and holdings would have been recorded in the registers of other provinces. They must also be distinguished from a small group of wealthy Pampangans who, by the end of the nineteenth century, maintained residences outside the province (they will be discussed later). These non-Pampangans included prominent Tagalogs like Felipe Buencamino and Spanish mestizos like Benito Legarda.³⁷ Their

³⁷ Legarda owned 1,100 hectares of lowland swamp from which he obtained nipa palm sugar for his distillery in Guagua [*Manila Times*, January 24, 1906, p. 1]. Buencamino acquired land through his marriage to the daughter of a wealthy landowner from Apalit [Felipe Buencamino, Sr., "Sixty Years of Philippine History," *Philippine Historical Bulletin*, XIII (1969, special pre-print), 10]. For names of other non-Pampangan landowners see PNA, *Protocolos*.

stereotype might be the mestizo Captain Tiago of Jose Rizal's famous novel *Noli Me Tangere*, who owned land not only in Pampanga but also in his native Binondo and Laguna Province. Judging from the paucity of references to the outsiders, however, it appears that they exerted little economic influence on Pampangan life and their property represented only a small fraction of the aggregate holdings in the province.

One final observation about land patterns deserves mention: land manipulation was not exclusively a male prerogative. Pampangan women inherited land from their parents and could buy and sell it in their own right. Even when a woman married, she retained possession of the land she had brought to the marriage. Women could also pass on their property to their children, male or female, independent of their husbands. Some sales indicate that siblings sold to each other, and in many cases common family ownership was not the pattern. Disposition of land depended largely on the individuals concerned and no definite rule vis-à-vis sex applied.

The involved land patterns give one indication of the complex nature of Pampangan society by 1896. Within this society moved a fairly astute group of landowners and dealers who capitalized upon the growth of the cash crop economy and understood its ramifications. As a group, they were much more economic beings than their predecessors of the eighteenth century and had entered a world of urban and foreign markets.³⁸

Yet the nineteenth century landlord remained bound to his province by an intricate set of economic relations with his tenant farmers. Practically all caciques ran their estates with tenants (*aparceros*) through various forms of labor contracts. When exactly the system began is difficult to date. Basco spoke of the casamac or tenant system being used in 1784, but his

³⁸ In a recent article I have compared changes in Pampanga with those in nineteenth-century Java. The two areas were simultaneously developing a cash crop agriculture based on sugar, but the evolving social and economic institutions differed radically. See "The Causes of an Involved Society: A Theoretical Approach to Rural Southeast Asian History," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXX (August 1971), 783-795.

reference was to only one type of arrangement involving the division of the rice crop between tenant and landlord. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did any writer suggest a more elaborate contract between tenants and proprietors; around 1850 Buzeta and Bravo noted that the planting and processing of sugar were practiced under several different kinds of contracts and then proceeded to outline the most commonly used form. In all probability, the change had come some time near the turn of the eighteenth century as the rise in importance of sugar as a cash crop and the decline of rice made it necessary to work out new agreements encompassing differences in cultivation and processing of the two crops. Apparently the new system had solidified by 1850, for John Foreman, writing in the 1890s, described roughly the same arrangement as had Buzeta and Bravo forty years earlier.

While the agreements between individual landlord and tenants varied considerably in specific detail, three general types are discernible: the sugar contract, the rice contract, and the leasehold contract.³⁹ In the sugar contract, the proprietor supplied the land, the cuttings of sugar for planting, the use of his milling machinery, mill hands, and, when necessary, cash loans. The tenant, who brought to the arrangement his own labor, tools, and draft animals, was responsible for the planting and harvesting of the crop and the payment and feeding of whatever extra hands had to be hired. Rather than hire laborers, tenants normally depended on the *sugu* system of reciprocal help with other tenants, which limited expense to the feeding of sugus during the harvest. The tenant transported the crop to the sugar mill and assisted in the milling of the cane. After the proprietor concluded the sale of the finished pilones of sugar with the Chinese merchant from Manila, proceeds were divided fifty-fifty. Certain items in the contract changed under different

³⁹ The information on tenancy was taken from Buzeta and Bravo, I, 190, 193-195; Foreman, pp. 314-315; Sawyer, pp. 239-240; and from a series of interviews with 148 Pampangan tenant farmers and 21 landowners, all over eighty years of age, conducted in Pampanga between June and September of 1964.

circumstances, e.g. the cost of the sugar cuttings was sometimes split between the tenant and landlord and if the landlord had to supply the carabao the tenant received only a 25 percent share. All transactions were in cash.

Differences between the rice and sugar contracts were due mainly to the fact that Pampanga consumed most of the rice crop rather than exported it. The proprietor still gave the use of his land and the tenant provided the labor, tools, and carabao. However, the landlord loaned only rice for planting and eating, and the *aparcero* repaid in kind; no cash was involved. Both parties did their own rice milling, usually with a crude wooden mortar and pestle. (Mechanical rice mills were not introduced into the province until the twentieth century.) The little rice available for export was ground elsewhere. Variations in the agreements came only in the rates of interest charged for the borrowed rice. Under the most common system, the *talindua*, the debtor paid back three cavans (one cavan equals 2.12 bushels) of rice for every two borrowed or a 50 percent rate of interest. Less frequently employed were the *tacpanan* (two cavans for every one borrowed or 100 percent interest) and the *terciahan* (rarely used, four cavans for every three borrowed or 33 percent interest) systems.⁴⁰

The third and final category of arrangement was the leasehold contract, which usually involved at least three individuals: the proprietor, the leaseholder (*mamuisan*), and one or more tenants. The lessee paid the owner a fixed sum and either worked the land himself or, more commonly, took on tenants on the basis of a fifty-fifty share of the harvest. Tenants rarely acquired the use of more than two or three hectares of land in the first two types of contract, but the *mamuisan* could manage many more hectares, up to the hundreds. The leasehold system was far less prevalent in Pampanga than were the other two.

Relations between tenant and landlord depended largely

⁴⁰ Domingo C. Salita, "Land Use in the Province of Pampanga" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1958), pp. 122-123.

on the latter's personality and his need to make money. Certainly he controlled the stipulations in the oral agreements with his tenants. Some proprietors charged little or no interest on cash loans, others exacted fairly exorbitant sums. If the tenant found himself in debt after the final settling of accounts at the end of the harvest, the cacique could carry him through the next season on fairly short rations or could overlook the debt and begin the following year with a clean sheet.

Since the landlord handled the selling of the sugar, he alone knew the prevailing prices paid by merchants. The price of a pilon varied from week to week, and the cacique sold his crop over a period of several months at different rates. In settling with his tenants, he could figure the proceeds on the basis of the lowest price per pilon or the average price paid.

And, finally, the landlord could also require of tenants such personal service as bringing in firewood or working with his family in his house. Sometimes these services were even volunteered by the tenants. The matter of extra services supplied by the tenants reveals much about the personal nature of the system. The partnership was obviously an unequal one with the cacique making all the decisions about terms of the contract; the well-being of a tenant depended on the good favors of the former. The extra work served one or all of three purposes: first, to thank the landlord for his generosity in past seasons; second, to tighten the bonds between the landlord and the tenant and encourage more consideration from the landlord; third, to guard against raising the anger of the landlord and increasing the possibility of less liberal terms the following year.

Whether a tenant ended the season in or out of debt depended on his contract, his own personal frugality, and the demands of his family. In practice, few tenants ever profited enough from their labors to buy land and rise to the upper class.⁴¹ One self-perpetuating aspect of the tenant status was

⁴¹ None of the tenants interviewed had moved upward during his lifetime, although a few had moved downward, and none of the landlords had

the fact that children inherited the debts of their parents to the landlord.

The tenant system demanded constant attention from the landlord. Rice and cash loans had to be made frequently, often on a weekly basis. Caciques held themselves responsible in various degrees for the health and welfare of the tenants. On occasion they also acted as godfathers (*compadres*—*padrinos* or *tewagan* in Capampangan) for their tenants' children and thereby acquired a special responsibility for the welfare of the family. Indeed, it was the paternalism of the caciques that made the social and economic system, with its built-in inequalities, acceptable to the tenants. Longstanding bonds developed, and few tenants changed landlords during a lifetime.

Tied to their land through their relations with tenants, the upper class maintained homes in the barrios where their tenants lived and rarely ventured outside the province for very long. Even though new individuals joined the ranks of the upper class, few deviated from the economic and social patterns that had developed over the course of the nineteenth century.

Elite society in the nineteenth century

Significant changes in the composition of Pampanga's ruling class accompanied the economic transformation of the province in the late nineteenth century. Gobernadorcillo lists for the fourteen towns where adequate records exist attest to the marked turnover of families in the upper class after 1820 (see Table 7). In all the towns, except Lubao, new names outnumbered the old by a considerable margin, often by more than two to one. The new members of the provincial elite came mainly from the Chinese mestizo group but, in a more limited fashion, the Chinese after 1850 also formed a specialized economic elite and a small group of Spaniards became a separate social elite.

ever been tenants. Mobility into the upper class came through entrepreneurial endeavor in another field such as business or a profession, coupled with acquisition of land.

Table 7.
COMPARISON OF NAMES ON GOBERNADORCILLO LISTS
FROM PERIODS 1765-1820 AND 1821-1896

<i>Municipality</i>	<i>Number of names found in both periods</i>	<i>Number of names found in later period only</i>
Apalit	12	20
Arayat	9 (from 1774 on)	22
Candaba	11	19
Guagua	8	26
Lubao	15	14
Mabalacat	7 (from 1770 on)	24
Macabebe	12	24
Mexico	6	25
Minalin	11 (to 1879 only)	21
Porac	4 (from 1772 on)	29
San Fernando	13	17
San Luis	7	27
San Simon	11 (from 1770 on)	19
Santa Rita	11 (from 1770 on)	22

Source: LPC lists; Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), pp. 13-45.

Following a trend begun in the late eighteenth century, enterprising Chinese mestizos continued to forge their way into the provincial upper class to such an extent that it became difficult to differentiate separate native and mestizo elite groups. With the elimination after 1826 of the mestizo gremio in Bacolor, a major distinction between native and mestizo ended.⁴² Later historical references to mestizos tended merely to reflect their dominance of that class formerly occupied by the old native *principalia*. When, for example, Buzeta and

⁴² Pedro Malig, "Documentos historicos del municipio de Bacolor, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 2. After the decline of the gremio, the only legal difference between indio and mestizo was in their tax obligations. In the 1880s, even the tax differentiation was eliminated [Edgar Wickberg, "The Chinese Mestizo in Philippine History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, V (March 1964), p. 94]. Nevertheless, the Spanish government still maintained the distinction between *naturales* (i.e. indios) and Chinese mestizos in their census reporting into the 1890s. See PNA, *Estadística Pampanga*, reports for 1895.

Bravo noted that around 1840 the mestizos owned the stone and wooden houses (i.e. the homes of the wealthy) in Apalit,⁴³ they were observing that the old elite had given way to the new.

Buzeta and Bravo's observation was based on the notion common to those writing about Central Luzon then that native society could be divided into two classes: a Chinese mestizo elite and an indio lower class. The clearest statement of this division came from W. H. Palgrave in 1876:

Intellectually they [Chinese mestizos] are generally superior to the unmixed natives around them. Their number, taken in comparison with that of the entire population, is not great; but their wealth and influence go far to make up this deficiency.⁴⁴

This remark, like Buzeta and Bravo's, did not entirely explain conditions in Pampanga. Some of the old native families—a small number at least—had survived the economic change and remained in the upper class. Of the 337 names on the gobernadorcillo lists between 1821 and 1896, a very large number were clearly Hispanic (e.g. Ibarra, Roman, Navarro) or Hispanized Chinese names (e.g. Henson, Tiglao, Limongco), heuristic evidence of mestizo penetration.⁴⁵ At the same time a smaller number of names of Pampangan origin also appeared. Indeed, some of the Pampangan names can be traced back to the lists of the era before 1765, the time prior to the heavy incursion of mestizos into the elite. In Macabebe, for example,

⁴³ Buzeta and Bravo, I, 305.

⁴⁴ W. Gifford Palgrave, *Ulysses or Scenes and Studies in Many Lands* (London: Macmillan, 1887), pp. 144–145.

⁴⁵ The evidence is not conclusive because the use of a Spanish name did not always mean an individual was a Chinese mestizo. Some native Pampangans took Spanish names, and a small group of Spanish mestizos lived in the province. Díaz Arenas put the number of Spanish mestizos at 457 in 1850 [Rafael Díaz Arenas, *Memorias históricas y estadísticas de Filipinas y particularmente de la grande isla de Luzon* (Manila: Impr. del Diario de Manila, 1850), cuaderno 5]. Whether they were originally the children of Spanish-Pampangan marriages or migrants from elsewhere and what place they had in society remains a mystery. Their numbers suggest that their role was probably unimportant.

seven family names on the *gobernadorcillo* lists prior to 1765 appear on the post-1820 lists. In Minalin seven, in Apalit nine, and in Candaba five names survived into the nineteenth century.

The fact that mestizos entered the upper echelons of Pampangan society in large numbers did not constitute an invasion by outsiders into a native class but rather the infusion of a group of people, adapted to the new economic conditions of society, into the already existing niche of provincial leadership. As in the period from 1765 to 1820, intermarriage played an important role in the mestizo rise in society. By the same token, most indio families of prominence in earlier years had survived into the new era through adaptation and intermarriage. Probably very few "pure" indio families remained.

What did remain was a governing class in Pampangan society. Only the criterion for entry into that class had changed. Economic acumen and success had replaced hereditary considerations, making movement in and out of the elite more common. Of the sixteen mestizo and indio families that had achieved the greatest prominence in the period between 1765 and 1820, only eight maintained that position after 1821. Family names that had appeared on the *gobernadorcillo* lists of a particular town might disappear altogether from that town and reappear in another, but no family, indio or mestizo, could rely on its past success to guarantee continued high status. Although a general population increase and the expansion of cultivated land created more places for the elite to fill, some families, unable to adapt, faded from the scene. The economic changes of the nineteenth century created for the indio and mestizo a greater chance for upward—and downward—social mobility.

The mestizo group gravitated toward agriculture because of large profits to be derived from farming and land speculation. Further, association with Pampangans and the absence of a large Chinese community from 1765 to 1850 encouraged closer mestizo identification with native society and occupa-

tions. Finally, when the more competitive Chinese returned after 1850, the mestizos were forced out of commercial activities and almost completely into farming.

The Chinese, freed from restrictions against residence in the provinces, increased their number in Pampanga from 153 in 1848 to almost 1,100 in 1893.⁴⁶ Prohibited by law from agricultural activities, they came to dominate various economic pursuits in Pampanga. The Chinese ran distilleries using molasses from pilones⁴⁷ and took over the functions of middleman in the sugar trade between Pampanga and Manila. They served as buyers and transporters of sugar and even established the refineries in the City for the processing of the Pampanga crop. Alençon, writing in 1876, noted that Chinese laborers ran some of the steam mills in Pampanga. There were few nonagricultural operations that the Chinese left untouched. Even in peddling, the Chinese made their presence felt by successfully competing against the indio and mestizo itinerant traders, forcing many of the latter to turn to agriculture.⁴⁸

The Chinese community only interacted with indio-mestizo society in the economic field. Socially and politically they remained apart. In the three municipalities with the highest concentration of Chinese—Guagua, San Fernando, and Angeles—the Chinese formed their own gremios and elected their own gobernadorcillos,⁴⁹ never reestablishing the ties of kinship that had united them to the mestizos in the eighteenth century.

The Spaniards, although initially outsiders, and legally and socially distinguishable from the mestizo-indio group, nevertheless associated freely with them during the nineteenth century. As priests, government officials, or farmers, Spaniards found it necessary to deal with natives in many capacities—

⁴⁶ Díaz Arenas, *Memorias históricas*, cuaderno 5; PNA, Provincia de la Pampanga, año de 1877-1888, Padron Série 5^a, "Chinos"; PNA, Dirección General de Administración Civil, Centro de Estadística, no. 8, Provincia de la Pampanga, "Estado demonstrativo de número de extranjeros residentes endicho pueblo el día 31 de Diciembre de año ultimo [1893]."

⁴⁷ Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life*, p. 104.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴⁹ PNA, "Chinos," Legajo 84, Item 7, Docs. 2-14.

social, economic, and political. They shared with the elite a common Hispanic culture (a point which will be discussed in more detail later) and were responsible in one way or another for the governing of the peasantry. Although numerically insignificant, the Spaniards as representatives of the colonial power possessed a prestige and authority disproportionate to their numbers.

Perhaps the most influential Spanish group were the priests, more specifically the Augustinian friars. Barred from Pampanga in 1773, they returned to their parishes in the 1840s. In 1850, of the twenty-one parishes in Pampanga, the friars administered thirteen and the native secular clergy only eight; a decade later only two parishes remained in the latter's care.⁵⁰ The Spanish priests, despite their ineligibility for political position, held a very special place in Pampangan society. Alençon wrote:

One cannot stop in a village without making a visit to the principal person, the curate. The curate is the king of the village, since everyone from the *gobernadorcillo* to the lowest inhabitant takes off his hat and kisses the priest's hand with affection and almost filial respect.⁵¹

Economically, the friars enjoyed a relatively secure life supported by both fees for performing special religious services⁵² and the revenues of the parish fields. Alençon found the priest in Arayat living in extremely comfortable and attractive quarters. As an economic force, however, they were relatively unimportant; the church possessed only small holdings in Pampanga which were often actually managed by native farmers. Clerical impact stemmed mainly from the friars' social influence as keepers of the morals of the society as well as purveyors of Hispanic culture and traditions. Their influence on the upper class came through daily contact and began in the schools. In

⁵⁰ Buzeta and Bravo, II, Chart No. 8; *Ilustracion Filipina*, February 1, 1860, pp. 32-34, February 15, 1860, pp. 43-45.

⁵¹ Alençon, p. 72.

⁵² For example, the donation made by a family to a church at the time of a funeral sometimes went as high as ₱100 [Parish Records of the Cathedral of San Fernando, "Entierros," 1895-1902].

1892 the Augustinians were operating eighteen primary schools for boys, twenty-six for girls, eight secondary institutions for boys, and one finishing school for both sexes.⁵³ While a number of secular private schools also existed, they were mainly on the secondary level and most of the Pampangan elite first went to a Catholic primary school.

A small Spanish lay population, also residing in Pampanga in the nineteenth century, broke down into the following occupational categories:⁵⁴

Government officials	17
Farmers	27
Professionals and businessmen	13
Indigent	1
Total	<u>58</u>

As with the priests, the importance of the lay community stemmed more from their position as representatives of Spanish culture than from the strength of their political or economic roles in the society. The Spaniards resided in Pampanga at a time when the mestizo elite were becoming more urbane in their customs and outlook.

The Spaniards, even with the power of the colonial government behind them, could not exert as much authority over the native population as could the mestizo-indio elite. The latter, a truly native upper class, formed in essence an interlocking directorate that controlled all the municipalities and barrios of the province, as can be seen from the duplication of names on the gobernadorcillo rosters. Of the 337 names on the lists between 1821 and 1896, eighty-five appear in at least two municipalities, a trend that had begun earlier but became magnified after 1821. Compare, for example, the list in Table 8

⁵³ Evergisto Bazaco, O.P., *History of Education in the Philippines* (Manila: University of Santo Tomas Press, 1953), p. 230.

⁵⁴ PNA, Provincia de la Pampanga, año de 1887-1888, Padron Série 10.

Table 8.

PAMPANGAN FAMILIES ON GOBERNADORCILLO LISTS IN
FOUR OR MORE MUNICIPALITIES, 1821-1896

<i>Family</i>	<i>Municipalities</i>
David	Arayat, Mabalacat, Mexico, San Fernando, Santa Rita
de Guzman	Porac, Santa Rita, Bacolor, Angeles
de la Cruz	Candaba, Lubao, San Luis, San Simon, Apalit
de los Reyes	Arayat, Guagua, Mexico, Bacolor
de los Santos	Arayat, Candaba, Mabalacat, Macabebe, Porac, San Simon, Santa Rita, Bacolor, Angeles
de Miranda	Mabalacat, San Fernando, Santa Rita, Angeles
de Ocampo	Candaba, Porac, San Fernando, Santa Rita
Dizon	Arayat, Guagua, Mabalacat, Mexico, Porac, San Fernando, Bacolor, Angeles
Galang	Arayat, Candaba, Minalin, San Simon, Bacolor
Garcia	Macabebe, Porac, San Simon, Santa Rita, Apalit
Henson	Arayat, Porac, San Fernando, Angeles
Laxamana	Candaba, Guagua, Mexico, Porac, San Luis
Pamintuan	Mabalacat, San Fernando, San Simon, Angeles
Pañgan	Arayat, Lubao, San Simon, Apalit
Panlilio	Mexico, San Fernando, San Luis, San Simon, Bacolor
Pineda	Arayat, Minalin, San Simon, Santa Rita, Bacolor
Punsalang	Macabebe, San Luis, San Simon, Apalit
Ramos	Arayat, Lubao, Mabalacat, Macabebe
Tison	San Fernando, San Luis, Bacolor, Angeles
Tuazon	Mabalacat, Mexico, San Fernando, San Luis, Angeles

Source: LPC lists; Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), pp. 13-45; and Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), pp. 72-74.

of the most widely dispersed families with the list of names given in Table 2 in the preceding chapter.

Mere dispersal of the native elite tells only part of the story of their control. Within each municipality they governed the peasants through the tenant system and dominance of local political offices. The Manila government maintained the substance of the cabeza-gobernadorcillo system to the end of the Spanish regime with several innovations. By the 1890s, the

gubernadorcillo, or *capitan municipal* as he was now called, was still elected by a group of twelve of the *principalia*, but the term of office became two years. He was assisted by a *teniente mayor* (second in command), *juez de ganados* (judge or supervisor of the flocks and herds), *juez de sementeras* (judge of the crops), *juez de policia* (supervisor of the local police), and two *jueces suplentes* (alternates).⁵⁵

The *cabeza de barangay* continued as an appointed official until 1892 when he was transformed into the *barrio teniente*, an official elected by his *barrio* peers. Under the new system, in order officially to join the ranks of the *principalia* with the title *cabeza actual*, a *teniente* had to serve in office for a term of ten years, although any officeholder, *teniente* or higher, merited the title *don*.⁵⁶ To assist the local *teniente*, an elected justice of the peace was added to the *barrio* government in 1887–1888.⁵⁷ His function consisted primarily of settling local legal matters, and he had to be a lawyer.

This proliferation of officials and changing of titles and functions did not alter the mestizo-indio domination of local offices. The lists of elected *barrio* officials contain most of the family names that had appeared on the *gubernadorcillo* lists in the nineteenth century. Only the offices were modified, not the personnel. Certain jobs within the Spanish bureaucratic framework also offered the elite opportunities to expand their position in society. Such positions as head of the local telegraph

⁵⁵ PNA, Legajo "Pampanga Elecciones Numero 3." This bundle contains many *expedientes* (files) on elections for office in the various municipalities of Pampanga from 1894 to 1896.

⁵⁶ PNA, Legajo "Pampanga"; this bundle contains lists of the appointments of *cabezas de barangay* by the Manila government between 1889 and 1890, the last appointment being one made in March of 1890. PNA, Legajo "Pampanga Elecciones Numero 2"; this bundle contains the election results, beginning in 1891, for the *tenientes* elected in every *barrio*. The *cabezas actuales* were also elected [Foreman, p. 246].

⁵⁷ Manuel Gatbonton, "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba de la provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas, precedidos de unas copias que: relatan hechos autenticos que versen sobre el origen de muchos pueblos de Luzon y genealogia de los principes Malayas antes de la dominacion espanola," LPC, pp. 10–11.

offices in San Fernando and Bacolor were manned by Don Angel Mercado y Panlilio and Don Manuel Vergara,⁵⁸ who presumably wanted the status and useful information government jobs conferred.

Wielding power and the symbols of authority, the upper class of the province also accepted the responsibility for establishing and maintaining local institutions and bringing innovations to the community. The principal Don Angel Pantaleon de Miranda, for example, had a very important role in the founding of Angeles. Besides introducing the first granite sugar mill to the area and erecting the first distillery, de Miranda was influential in the creation of the first primary schools in 1822 and donated land for the first Catholic church together with another plot for its maintenance.⁵⁹ Another member of the Angeles upper class, Doña Agustina Henson de Miranda, gave land for the rebuilding of the public market after it had been destroyed.⁶⁰ In 1861 members of the local elite supplied the land and substantial money contributions for the founding of the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades.⁶¹ From the 1840s on members of the elite became involved in the government-initiated program to improve the roads of the province.⁶² The number of services to the community demanded of the elite was enormous. Being the possessors of power and wealth, they could not but comply with each new demand in order that the community remain in equilibrium. To protect their position in society, the upper class accepted the inevitability of change and, by being the first to adapt, maintained the reins of power.

As Pampanga drew closer into the sphere of Manila

⁵⁸ *Guia oficial de las Islas Filipinas para 1897* (Manila: Chofré, 1897), pp. 474-475.

⁵⁹ Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 2-3, 7.

⁶⁰ Letter from Mr. Mariano A. Henson, Angeles, Pampanga, October 30, 1968, to the author.

⁶¹ *Centennial Anniversary of the Pampanga School of Arts and Trades, November 4, 1961, Bacolor, Pampanga: Souvenir Program* (Bacolor, Pampanga: n.p., 1961), p. 1.

⁶² James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), I, 10.

through economic contact, the indio-mestizo upper class became more cosmopolitan in behavior and outlook. The increase in wealth among the landowners led to more associations with Spaniards not only in the province but in Manila and Spain as well. These associations facilitated the acceptance of more European culture and attitudes.

Within the province the elite experienced frequent personal contact with the Westerners residing there or with visiting foreigners. Landowners in their capacity as farm managers dealt with merchants both at home and in Manila. And in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a small group of Pampangans began keeping residences in the city.⁶³

Schooling provided the children of Pampanga's elite with access to Spanish culture. The friars taught the primary grades in Capampangan but, on the secondary level, students wealthy enough to continue their education had a choice of studying Spanish in either the province or Manila. Between 1865 and 1896, fifteen private secondary schools were operated by laymen and friars in Pampanga;⁶⁴ in Manila there were such schools as San Juan de Letran and the Ateneo, which carried more prestige and paved the way to advanced study. A small number of Pampangans went on from secondary schools to the college and university system of Manila. Courses at the University of Santo Tomas offered training for men in various professions including engineering, law, and medicine, but at least some Pampangans took the more liberal arts-oriented curriculum in philosophy and theology.⁶⁵ For the daughters of the provincial elite there were colleges for women as well. Finally, for a select few, a trip to Europe served as the capstone of their education. In Europe the Pampangans did more than study; they associated with Europeans, Filipinos from other provinces, and Asians from other countries. Jose Alejandrino, a member

⁶³ PNA, *Protocolos*. In the wills of eight Pampangan landowners recorded between 1889 and 1896, houses in Manila were included in their property.

⁶⁴ Bazaco, 306-310.

⁶⁵ Henson, *Angeles*, p. 10 n.

of the Pampangan upper class, has included in his informative autobiography a picture taken in Madrid in 1890 which reveals the level of sophistication attained by the overseas Pampangans.⁶⁶ In it, a group of fashionably dressed Filipinos posed with some of their Spanish compatriots and a well-attired Vietnamese. Among the Filipinos were such illustrious Tagalogs as Jose Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar, and at least two Pampangans, Alejandrino and Francisco Liongson⁶⁷ (see photographic section).

However, the European-educated Pampangan represented only a tiny fraction of the whole elite. Most members of the upper class settled for less acculturation into Spanish ways. For many young men, the responsibility of managing the family estate meant dropping out of school at a fairly early age, and not all the principalia had the time or the inclination to learn Spanish before leaving school. Alençon, visiting Pampanga in the 1860s, found that the gobernadorcillo of San Fernando and several other principalia he met could not speak Spanish at all.

The use of Spanish, however, provided only one indication of the growing urbanity of the upper class. Many of the group spoke Tagalog and associated with Tagalog caciques in and around Manila. In the *Noli*, Rizal commented on the fact that a number of prominent Pampangans traveled as far as Laguna Province to attend a town fiesta. MacMicking, Palgrave, and Sawyer all noted that the Pampangans and urban-oriented Tagalogs differed little in either manners or appearance.

The growing wealth of the Pampangan caciques allowed them to offer hospitality even the Europeans could admire. Alençon, while describing the principalia as somewhat provincial, heartily praised the comfortable quarters and good food supplied by his native hosts. The material progress achieved

⁶⁶ Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, trans. Jose M. Alejandrino (Manila: M. Colcol, 1949), p. 99.

⁶⁷ Dr. Francisco Liongson served the revolutionary cause in the Philippines between 1896 and 1901 and then became governor of Pampanga from 1912 to 1916. Mariano Cunanan of Mexico also was associated with this same group in Europe [Henson, *Pampanga*, p. 150].

by the wealthier Pampangans was best described by Frederic Sawyer, a British resident of the Philippines:

Their houses are kept clean, and the larger ones are well-suited for entertainments, as the *sala* [main parlor] and *caida* [interior room] are very spacious, and have polished floors of *narra*, or some other hard close-grained wood very pleasant to dance on.

A ball at a big Pampanga house is a sight that will be remembered. Capitan Joaquin Arnédo Cruz of Sulípan [barrio of Apalit], on the Rio Grande, a wealthy native sugar-planter, used to assemble in his fine house the principal people of the neighbourhood to meet royal and distinguished guests. One of his daughters is married to a distinguished [Tagalog] lawyer, my friend Don Felipe Buencamino . . . Capitan Joaquin possessed a magnificent porcelain table-service of two hundred pieces, especially made and marked with his monogram, sent him by a prince who enjoyed his hospitality.

He gave a ball for the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia, who afterwards declared that the room presented one of the most brilliant sights he had ever seen.

This from a son of an Emperor might seem an exaggeration, but brilliant is the only word that can describe the effect produced on the spectator by the bright costumes and sparkling jewellery [sic] of the women.⁶⁸

Although, for lack of sufficient data, no sharp dividing lines can be drawn, one can postulate a rough hierarchical structure within elite society of the late nineteenth century. Some of the crucial factors that determined place within that hierarchy were landowning, education at home and abroad, knowledge of Spanish, and interprovincial contacts. One can use such achievements as a means of assigning individual Pampangans to the social scale. The upper stratum included men like Joaquin Arnedo Cruz, an extremely wealthy landowner, who had served as capitan municipal in his home town of Apalit. He spoke Spanish and associated freely and openly with the local friars and other resident Spaniards. His social life crossed provincial boundaries and his daughter, Juanita, mar-

⁶⁸ Sawyer, p. 245.

ried a prominent Tagalog, an associate of the Rizals and other leading families to the south. Joaquin Arnedo Cruz owned a house filled with European luxuries and his standing kept him above the law.⁶⁹

The Liongson family of Bacolor belonged to the same stratum. They possessed substantial agricultural lands⁷⁰ and sent one of their members, Francisco, to study in Madrid. His training conferred upon him added prestige and he too enjoyed free associations with the Tagalog elite of his generation. The Liongsons and Arnedo Cruz can properly be called *ilustrados* for they represented the pinnacle of native society. The term has sometimes been used to describe the principalia in general, but it most properly belongs to those families which claimed preeminence beyond a single region.⁷¹ Land wealth, education, and broad social contacts differentiated the nineteenth century ilustrado from the rest of the principalia.

While individual ilustrados lived in many towns of Pampanga, Bacolor, then the capital of the province, seems to have become one of their chief centers by the end of the century. Even today a tour of the poblacion reveals a large cluster of elegant nineteenth century homes, far more than in any other municipality. Here lived the Liongsons, the Jovens, and the Venturas, all of whom could claim ilustrado standing. The Joven family maintained a residence in Manila as well as the province, and Ceferino Joven, later a governor under the Americans, was born in the City.⁷² Balbino Ventura, father of another governor, was a wealthy proprietor and a benefactor of the local parish. His presumed extraprovincial connections with the Ma-

⁶⁹ Buencamino, pp. 6-7, 10.

⁷⁰ Interview with Mr. Ricardo Nepomuceno, Angeles, Pampanga, June 14, 1964.

⁷¹ Renato Constantino's use of the term *ilustrado* approximates my own. For his definition see his *The Making of a Filipino: A Story of Philippine Colonial Politics* (Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1969), p. 5.

⁷² Philippine Islands, Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees, January 1, 1908* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 104.

sonic movement, which originated in Manila, led to his arrest in 1896.⁷³

The connection of Pampangans with various liberal movements in the nineteenth century suggests that many of them belonged to the ilustrado group. One could, for example, assume the high standing of Mariano Alejandrino of Arayat, Francisco Tizon of San Luis, and Ladislao Dayrit of Mexico on the basis of their ties with the Liberal Party of Father Jose Ma. Burgos during the late 1860s and early 1870s.⁷⁴

Below the level of ilustrado, differentiations among the elite became more difficult, nearly impossible, to make because of the shortage of names in the records. Almost by definition the non-ilustrado principals remained nameless because their achievements and standing did not warrant recognition in the historical literature. One can include in this group, much larger than the ilustrado category, landowners, big and small, whose activities revolved within the provincial orbit and a small group of professionals associated in part with the commercial towns of Guagua, San Fernando, and Angeles.

The first type consisted of farmers who concerned themselves primarily with the management of their lands. Their educational achievements did not match those of the ilustrados and their social life occurred within the province. Their names appeared occasionally in the protocolos but only because of their business dealings. They dominated local offices and were known as community leaders. In all probability the relative size of their landholdings played a major role in fixing their standing within the community.

The other type came lately to the principalia ranks, mainly as the result of the onset of the cash crop economy. Their standing derived from their professional role rather than their ownership of land. A lawyer like Vicente Abad Santos would be an example of this new group. Living in San Fernando, the Abad Santos family held only residential lots. Vicente was chosen to

⁷³ Buencamino, p. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

the post of juez de ganados and performed other legal services. A busy market town like San Fernando provided enough legal business for Abad Santos to educate his children and he sent his eldest son Pedro to study law at Letran College in Manila.⁷⁵

This final category was not only the newest and probably the smallest among the elite, but it most likely carried the lowest prestige. Only after an individual had obtained agricultural property could he hope to achieve high political office and undisputed principalia standing. One with professional accomplishments alone could only aspire to minor political office and a place on the fringe of the elite.

Members of the elite differed widely in their accomplishments, yet all shared one quality: they had adapted to the new world created by changing economic currents. Under their collective leadership, Pampangan society remained stable and free from unrest. In 1896 the Tagalog provinces to the south were on the verge of revolution; Pampanga was not.

Pampanga, 1820-1896

From 1571 to 1896 Spaniards supervised, albeit loosely, the development of Pampanga and the imprint of 365 years of Spanish influence appeared in many places. Most of the residents of the province nominally identified themselves as Roman Catholics, even if they did not attend mass regularly. The political system followed the pattern prescribed by the Manila government, and the legal code and system were Spanish in origin. Among the native upper class, education, language, household furnishings, and clothes all reflected an Hispanic orientation.

Some of the most striking signs of modernity were introduced by, under the auspices of, or with the permission of the Spaniards. In the 1890s, every Pampangan municipality was connected by road, the Manila-Dagupan Railroad passed from

⁷⁵ The background of the Abad Santos family comes from Ramon C. Aquino, *A Chance to Die* (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967), pp. 8-10.

north to south through the middle of the province, and daily steamship service ran between Bacolor and Manila. Telegraph lines and frequent mail service also placed Pampanga in close touch with the city.⁷⁶ In agriculture, the government operated an experimental station in Magalang to improve crop production and livestock breeding.⁷⁷

These innovations were merely manifestations of a larger change that occurred mainly in the nineteenth century due to the opening of Manila to world commerce. The great transformation took place in agriculture and in the settlement pattern. In 1800, Pampanga had consisted of a series of rice-growing communities along the Rio Grande de la Pampanga, bounded on the north by a great forest. Less than a century later, that forest had been replaced by vast sugar fields and populous new towns. The Spanish only indirectly stimulated this conquest of the frontier, through a reversal in their attitude toward foreign trade. The Pampangans themselves, without even the prospect of clear titles, became the pioneers of that virgin land.

The presence of Chinese gremios in San Fernando and Angeles gave other evidence of changing economic and settlement patterns in Pampanga. Because of the sugar boom, these towns became major market centers, strategically located to serve as central collecting and distributing points for the surrounding sugar-producing municipalities. After 1892 the Manila-Dagupan Railroad passed through both towns, adding to their importance.

San Fernando and Angeles prospered from commercial agriculture while Mexico declined. The latter town, located on

⁷⁶ MacMicking, p. 205; *Pronouncing Gazetteer*, p. 730.

⁷⁷ U.S. War Department, U.S. Philippine Commission, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902, Volume X: Report of the Philippine Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), Pt. 1, 593-594; *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez as *The Souvenir Program on the Founding Day of Magalang, December 13, 1863-December 13, 1954* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1954), pp. 28-29; Copeland, "Spanish Agricultural Work," pp. 307-318. The station contained a weather observatory as well.

a tributary of the Rio Grande de la Pampanga, had flourished as a market center in the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century, drawing river traffic and merchants from as far away as Malabon and overland commerce from Nueva Ecija and Tarlac. Subsequently the channel silted up and the commerce gravitated elsewhere.⁷⁸ Bacolor, a mestizo commercial center as late as the early nineteenth century, gradually gave over that role to its more conveniently placed neighbor San Fernando in the later years.⁷⁹ Thus, the needs of the new sugar industry affected the economic progress of Pampanga's towns.

The settling of the north did not, however, lead to a new pattern of owner-operated farms. An enterprising landowner from the south directed his tenants and laborers to clear the trees and then claimed the land as his own; the landholding system of the south was simply recreated in the north. Nevertheless, the acquisition of so much new crop land had a major effect on the people of Pampanga. They had to function in a world of more complex economic relations both within and outside the province while also adapting to new social conditions caused by growing involvement with people from Manila. The criterion for membership in the upper class shifted from heredity to the ability to adjust to and function within the changing order of things.

In terms of culture, social orientation, and wealth, the gap between the elite and the lower class widened. The former, through their knowledge of Spanish and Tagalog, associated with members of the colonial establishment and with upper-class Filipinos from other areas. The latter almost never spoke any language but Capampangan and did not participate in any of the life outside the province. The large stone houses with European furnishings and the nipa hut almost bare of furniture respectively identified the landlord and his tenants.

⁷⁸ "Datos historicos de este municipio de Mexico, provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas," LPC, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹ *Manila Times*, January 14, 1902, p. 1; PNA, *Estadistica Pampanga* census totals for San Fernando for 1895 listed the number of Chinese mestizos as 4,521 out of a total population of 13,752.

Yet the ties between the upper and lower classes remained firm. The caciques depended on their *aparceros* to work the lands that brought such large profits, and the latter received guidance and a measure of social security in exchange. The relationship supplied a high degree of social stability that prevented agrarian unrest in the face of great alterations on the economic scene. This stability was also to help Pampanga to survive intact during the almost five years of political turmoil that began in late 1896.

One would scarcely expect men of substance to have an easy conscience about kicking over two of the main props, king and church, that supported the social order. Eventually they were to welcome them back in a changed form more suited to their requirements.

Barrington Moore

5

The Belt of Fire

DURING THE closing years of the Spanish regime in the Philippines, Pampanga became involved in a series of conflicts which culminated in armed rebellion and almost five years of continuous warfare. Although largely unconcerned with the major issues of the Philippine Revolution, Pampangans were forced to choose sides when the struggle came to the province. Pampangan society was severely shaken by the necessity of taking part in a conflict not basically its own and by the destruction and disruptions caused by the presence of invading armies. Only the solidarity of a well-entrenched leadership and the stability of relations between the two major classes prevented the calamity from creating extraordinary hardship among the residents of the province. With the return of peace in 1901, Pampanga resumed her old ways, little changed by the events of the preceding years.

General outlines of the revolution

As the first large-scale nationalist uprising in Southeast Asia against a colonial power, the Philippine Revolution

marked a turning point in the history of the region. The military phase lasted more than five years and involved literally hundreds of thousands of Filipinos and the armies of two Western nations. The causes of this confrontation harked back to the early nineteenth century and the creation of a literate, European-educated Filipino elite, indio and mestizo, many of whom eventually grew dissatisfied with the corrupt, ineffective, and vacillating Spanish colonial regime.¹

The region of greatest disaffection was the Tagalog provinces of Central Luzon. Here, in the provinces surrounding the city of Manila, the seat of colonial authority and the home of the majority of Westerners residing in the Philippines, Spaniards began more and more to encroach upon the sources of wealth and power of the native ruling class. After the Latin American revolutions of 1808–1826, the Philippines became one of the few remaining colonies where adventurous and avaricious *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in Spain) could go to seek their fortune. As a result, during the nineteenth century, the colonial bureaucracy became overstaffed with self-seeking incompetent officials who took little interest in the proper governance of the archipelago.

This bloated and unresponsive bureaucracy had numerous detrimental effects on the development of Philippine society. To begin with, the government could not devise and implement imaginative programs to cope with the economic changes of the times. The largest share of the tax revenues went for government salaries rather than public improvements and native welfare. At the same time, the proliferation of Spanish

¹ Information on the origins of the Philippine Revolution was taken from the following sources: John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (3rd ed. rev.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), pp. 362–365; James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), I, 27–89; Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *The Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956), pp. 1–32; Cesar Adib Majul, "The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution," *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review*, XXII (March–June 1957), *passim*.

officials kept the indio and mestizo elite from entering the higher levels of administration of their homeland. And, particularly in the Tagalog provinces, the presence of so much Spanish officialdom undercut native authority, both legal and traditional, on the local level.

Spanish friar orders posed an additional threat to the native elite. In many areas they prevented the growing number of Filipino secular priests from obtaining parishes of their own² and sometimes interfered with the operation of local political administration as well. In the vital area of agriculture, the friars constituted a major threat to the Tagalog caciques. The various orders around Manila, from early Spanish times on, had acquired land which they used to support themselves and their charitable projects. As the premium on cash crops rose in the nineteenth century, the friars sought to expand their estates, thus putting themselves in direct competition for land with native farmers. With the full weight of the colonial government behind them, the religious orders won most court battles over land against the Tagalogs, and many an indio or mestizo landholder was displaced in this way from property he earnestly believed he owned.³

Intervention by the Spanish home government in the friction between the colonial regime and the colony was all but precluded by the struggle in Spain between conservative and liberal forces, which was producing frequent changes of government, little consistency in colonial policy, and rapid turnover of personnel abroad. James LeRoy summed up conditions in the following way:

² The execution of the three Filipino secular priests Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora in 1872 highlighted the religious controversy of the times. For a moving account of the execution, its causes, and its repercussions, see Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino: A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963), pp. 3-17.

³ The most famous case of property alienation by Spanish friars took place in Calamba, Laguna, and involved the family of Jose Rizal. See Guerrero, pp. 180-186.

It is worth remarking that, from 1834 to 1862 Spain had 4 constitutions, 28 parliaments, 47 presidents of the Council of Ministers, and 529 ministers with portfolios, and during the next twenty years, with other revolutions and a republic, the changes came more frequently still. From 1835 to 1897 inclusive, the Philippines had fifty governor-generals, each serving an average of one year and three months. That a civil service under such conditions would be inefficient, if not corrupt, might be deemed a foregone conclusion.⁴

Eventually Spain's inability to solve its problems of maladministration led to organized Filipino resistance. By 1896 two distinct groups had formed to protest the inequalities of foreign rule. Both had representatives in many areas of the Philippines but drew most of their strength from the Tagalog provinces where the greatest disruptions of native society had occurred. The first group, representing the upper class, sought amelioration through legal and constitutional changes; the other, made up primarily of lower class peasants and urban laborers, planned more radical and extralegal means, including the resort to military force, to end once and for all Spanish dominance in the archipelago. The two groups had little in common, and the latter literally forced the armed rebellion against Spain on the former.

Historically, the Philippine Revolution breaks down roughly into three periods or phases. The first phase, from 1882 to 1896, was characterized by intellectual protest and demand for reform of the faltering colonial regime. The movement was headed by a nonmilitant group, resident and emigré, of writers and artists called Propagandists. Loosely under the leadership of Jose Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar, most complained of clerical abuses and the oversized parasitical colonial bureaucracy. Few committed themselves to complete independence.

Perhaps the most important formal organization supporting the Propagandists was the Philippine Masons. After the founding of the first lodge in Manila in 1891, Masonry spread throughout the Islands, although most of the lodges were lo-

⁴ LeRoy, I, 52.

cated in Luzon.⁵ Membership was limited primarily to the upper class. The intellectual phase ended in 1896 with the execution of Rizal, the death of del Pilar, and the suppression by the Spaniards of Masonic organizations.

The second phase of the revolution started in August 1896 when the movement for ultimate independence among the lower classes from Manila and the surrounding Tagalog provinces erupted in an armed attack against the Spanish by Filipino forces under Andres Bonifacio. Leadership of this movement passed into the hands of the Tagalog landed class in March 1897 as their representative, Emilio Aguinaldo, took over command from Bonifacio. The rebellion against Spain dragged on through 1897, changing from open field warfare to guerrilla warfare after August. The treaty of Biak-na-Bato sent Aguinaldo into exile at Hong Kong but did not end the fighting. The Filipino army suffered a series of setbacks until May 1898, when Dewey's fleet entered Manila Bay. From May 1898 until February 1899, the Filipinos held most lowland areas in the Philippines, establishing their own Republic under the leadership of the returned Aguinaldo and gaining administrative control of most of the archipelago except the city of Manila. Highlights of the period were the Declaration of Independence on June 12, 1898 and proclamation of the Malolos Constitution on January 21, 1899.

What may be termed the third phase of the revolution began in February 1899. The first Philippine Republic under President Aguinaldo fought a losing struggle against invading American forces that lasted roughly to the middle of 1901 although isolated cases of severe fighting continued until 1902.

Within the unfolding drama of the Philippine Revolution, the Pampangans played a relatively minor role when compared with that of their Tagalog neighbors to the south. Yet some assessment of Pampangan participation in the events

⁵ The most important published work on the subject of Masonry in the Philippines is Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Philippine Masonry*, trans. Fred-eric H. Stevens and Antonio Amechazurra (Manila: McCullough Printing, 1956).

from 1882 to 1896 is necessary and helps to define the very nature of the revolution against Spain and the opposition to the American invasion.⁶

The revolution in Pampanga: phase one

During the first phase of the revolution, a few members of Pampanga's upper class supported the movement for reform of the colonial regime. In the late 1880s and early 1890s at least four Pampangans—Valentin Ventura, Mariano Cunanan, Jose Alejandrino, and Francisco Liongson—associated closely with the leaders of the Propaganda movement in Europe. The extent of Ventura's and Cunanan's involvement remains unknown. For some time, Alejandrino and Rizal shared quarters in Brus-

⁶ The extent to which the whole nation involved itself in the revolution has never been clearly established. As a result, the meaning of early nationalism in the Philippines has remained a puzzle. There are essentially two conflicting historical theories about Pampanga's place in the Philippine Revolution. The first theory, espoused by such Filipino historians as Agoncillo, Kalaw, and Corpuz [Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960), p. 286; Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Manila: Manila Book Co., 1925), p. 103; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 63], maintains that Pampanga played an important part in the national revolution, joining with the Tagalogs in the struggle for independence. The other theory, argued by prewar American scholars beginning with James LeRoy, contends that the rebellion was predominantly a Tagalog uprising involving no other groups [LeRoy, I, 83, 85, 93].

The difference between the two points of view raises some serious questions in Philippine historiography and is not merely a matter of quibbling over minor points of analysis. The difference goes to the very core of the debate over the meaning of Philippine nationhood. The Philippines, like the other countries of Southeast Asia, has been beset by problems of national unity and identity. Filipino historians, aware of the problems of disunity, have tried to find in the past examples of national solidarity. The impulse to broaden the base of participation in the revolution was only natural. In reverse, American historians, particularly those writing during the colonial era, used the very issue of disunity to justify United States intervention in the affairs of a foreign people. They tried, therefore, to treat the revolution as a local uprising, stressing the divergent interests of Philippine society. Neither Americans nor Filipinos looked closely enough at Pampangan history to test the validity of their positions.

sels and Ghent.⁷ While neither Alejandrino nor Liongson were known for their anticolonial writings, both indicated by their subsequent behavior that their acquaintance with the Propagandists was more than casual. Alejandrino and his whole family supported the revolutionary cause from beginning to end, and Liongson served as a physician with the revolutionary government.⁸

Within the Philippines itself, the first evidence of Pampangan support for the reformist movement appeared at the time of the founding of the Masonic Lodge Nilad in Manila in 1891. Between February and June of that year, at least seven Pampangans including Ceferino Joven, later governor of the province, were initiated into the organization.

During the remainder of 1891 and 1892, Masonry spread to Pampanga proper through the efforts of the members of the Manila lodge. Among the founders of triangles⁹ in the province were Ruperto Laxamana, gobernadorcillo of Mexico, Mariano Alejandrino of Arayat (father of Jose), and Eugenio Blanco, a Spaniard from Macabebe. From the eight triangles initially formed, two lodges emerged: one in San Fernando set up by Cecilio Hilario and another in Bacolor organized by Francisco Joven. How many Pampangans joined the Masons and whether they all endorsed the reformists' program is difficult to determine. Teodoro Kalaw stated that as Masonry in the Philippines grew the early zeal of the members became diluted. The presence of a Spaniard, Eugenio Blanco, in the Pampanga organization offers a hint that its aims may also have moderated.¹⁰

⁷ Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, trans. Jose M. Alejandrino (Manila: M. Colcol, 1949), pp. 2-8; Carlos Quirino, *The Young Aguinaldo* (Manila: Regal Printing, 1969), p. 31.

⁸ Agoncillo, *Malolos*, p. 254.

⁹ Triangles were the units used in recruiting new Masons in an area. A Mason invited two others to form a triangle. They in turn organized other triangles. When enough members joined triangles, a lodge would be established.

¹⁰ Blanco, although a Spaniard, was born in the Philippines and was a long-time resident of Macabebe. He fought against the cause of Philippine independence throughout the revolutionary era. He had a brother in

Certainly some loyalty to the reform movement still flourished among the Masons. When Jose Rizal, himself a member of the order, visited Pampanga in 1892, he was well received by friends there. And at least a small group of Pampangans must have committed themselves to his cause, for later in the year when Rizal was arrested in Manila and deported the recriminations reached back to the province: several Masons, including Ceferino Joven, were denounced and threatened by the Spanish provincial governor and, more seriously, Gobernadorcillo Ruperto Laxamana and Teniente-primerio Antonio Consunji of Mexico were removed from office.¹¹ The Spanish government also exiled Mariano Alejandrino to the mountains of Northern Luzon for possessing incriminating Masonic documents.¹² After the reprisals of 1892, no further mention of Masonry exists in Pampanga. Either the organization moved underground or, more likely, dissolved. The open quest for reform simply died in the face of Spanish repressive measures.

Nor do the records reveal any Pampangan interest at the time in the more militant Katipunan movement begun by Bonifacio in the Manila area in 1892. None of the local histories speak of the formation, either by the elite or by the peasants, of secret cells. Neither is it likely that such an organization advocating the violent overthrow of the Spanish government would have attracted much attention in Pampanga. The great problems facing the Tagalogs were not particularly pressing in Pampanga. The church maintained no large estates, and the Pampangans themselves owned most of the arable land.¹³

the Spanish army [Alejandrino, p. 38], and, in 1896, he himself organized the Macabebe volunteers to fight against Aguinaldo ["Historical and Cultural Life of Masantol, Province of Pampanga," HDP, p. 7]. After the Spanish defeat, Blanco reorganized the Macabebes for the Americans [*Manila Times*, May 9, 1900, p. 1].

¹¹ Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, p. 5.

¹² The exiling of Mariano Alejandrino exerted a strong influence upon the whole family in favor of the revolutionary cause. All of Mariano's sons remained loyal to Aguinaldo throughout the war period [Alejandrino, pp. 40-42, 61].

¹³ For the list and location of the friar estates, purchased by the American Government in the early twentieth century, see U.S. House of Rep-

Pampanga was far enough from Manila to avoid the inundation by Spanish opportunity-seekers that plagued the capital area in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The Pampangan elite, deeply religious and attracted to Spanish culture, did not share the anticolonial bias of their neighbors to the south and saw little reason for separating from the mother country. It was one thing to associate with a man of their own class like Rizal in a genteel reformist movement and quite another to join a militant and partially lower class group of Tagalogs advocating open rebellion. Similarly, the peasants, the majority of whom looked to the elite for guidance, would scarcely have joined an organization that merited their leaders' disapproval and that mainly spoke for the disaffected Tagalogs.

During the fourteen years preceding the outbreak of hostilities, the budding nationalist movement drew little support from the Pampangans. The Spanish repressions of 1892 involved a small number of the native elite. Only a few dedicated families such as the Alejandrinos of Arayat and the Jovens of Bacolor actively supported the Propagandists, and, in general, the problems of colonial policy and practice merited little attention in the province. The subsequent behavior of the Pampangans during much of the second phase of the revolution merely confirms their indifferent attitude toward the issues of state so important elsewhere.

The revolution in Pampanga: phase two

On the night of August 19, 1896, the revolutionary plans of the Katipunan leaked out to the Spanish authorities in Manila. Panicked by the threat of armed rebellion, the government

representatives, *Administration of Philippine Lands: Report by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives of Its Investigation of the Interior Department of the Philippine Government Touching the Administration of Philippine Lands and All Matters Pertaining Thereto in Pursuance of House Resolution No. 795*, Report No. 2289, 61st Cong., 3rd Session, 1911, I, 329-339. None of these estates was in Pampanga.

launched a reign of terror that spread as far as Pampanga. During the last week of the month, three hundred persons in Pampanga, Bulacan, and Manila were arrested and tossed into overcrowded jails.¹⁴ In response to growing hostilities in Central Luzon, Governor-General Ramon Blanco declared on August 30 that a state of war existed in eight provinces including Pampanga, and on September 4 more people in the province were imprisoned or executed for suspected participation in the rebellion. Six days later, an outbreak of fighting, which ended almost immediately, occurred in Betis.¹⁵ After September 10, 1896, all formal hostilities in the province of Pampanga ceased for more than a year.

The relative calm in Pampanga from September 1896 to November 1897 stood in sharp contrast to the turmoil in several nearby provinces. In a series of pitched battles, the Spanish army slowly quelled the resistance of the rebel forces under Bonifacio and later Aguinaldo, forcing the latter eventually to seek refuge at Biak-na-Bato in the hills of Bulacan; meanwhile Pampangans made every effort to return to normalcy.

A normal situation, however, was not entirely possible. The continual fighting in neighboring areas caused the Spaniards

¹⁴ Foreman, p. 365. Among those arrested were a group of suspected Masons and Albino Ventura, father of a later governor of Pampanga, Honorio Ventura [Felipe Buencamino, Sr., "Sixty Years of Philippine History," *Philippine Historical Bulletin*, XIII (1969, special pre-print), 18].

¹⁵ Many of the descriptions of local incidents in the next sections are taken from a series of histories in the Luther Parker Collection. Unlike the more formal town histories listed in earlier footnotes, these memoirs were handwritten in little school notebooks in Capampangan; in several notebooks the pages were unnumbered and loose. Below is a list of the memoirs used:

Apolinario Serrano, "History of Betis," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez [hereafter cited as Betis Notebook].

Anon., "Candaba No. 2," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (unnumbered pages) [hereafter cited as Candaba Notebook].

[?] Lugay, "History of Bacolor, 1746-1909," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez [hereafter cited as Bacolor Notebook].

[?] Punu, "History of Bacolor, 1746-1908," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (unnumbered pages) [hereafter cited as Punu History].

Francisco Mananquil, "History of San Luis, 1761-1909," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez [hereafter cited as San Luis Notebook].

both inside and outside the province much anxiety and left a noticeable degree of tension in the air. The Spanish friar in Betis closed his church doors in October of 1896 and did not resume services until the following March. On December 23, 1896, the government, fearing that retreating rebels would use the Candaba swamp as a refuge, ordered barrios bordering the swamp destroyed and their residents moved elsewhere.¹⁶ At Christmastime in Barrio Santa Monica of San Luis, local Spanish troops attacked a group of picnickers thinking they were rebels.¹⁷ Occasional executions of suspected insurgents occurred throughout 1897. Also, Governor-General Polavieja suspended municipal elections in the province in September of that year to insure that only loyalists would serve in office.

Spanish uneasiness was not entirely unwarranted. Just enough incidents occurred to keep the regime on edge. In November of 1896 a contingent of Pampangans joined the rebels in a battle at Orani in Bataan.¹⁸ Joaquin and Jose Alejandrino were known to be fighting with Aguinaldo at Cavite;¹⁹ in fact, one of the barrios the Spanish planned to destroy contained the Alejandrino homestead. In August 1897 the prisoners detained at Bacolor attempted to escape and join the enemy but were recaptured and shot. At various times rebel troops on foraging expeditions (and perhaps some bandits) raided barrios on the fringes of Mt. Arayat and the Candaba swamp.²⁰ These incur-

¹⁶ PNA, Legajo, Pampanga, Secretaria del Gobierno General de Filipinas, "Expediente sobre reconcentración de barrios en la prov^a de la Pampanga, 1897."

¹⁷ "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis," HDP, p. 20.

¹⁸ Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, p. 43.

¹⁹ Felipe Buencamino, "Notes for the History of the Glorious Epopee of the Independence of the Philippines," trans. J. R. M. Taylor, in John R. M. Taylor (ed.), *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Washington: U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs [galley proof only]), I, 70 LY; Alejandrino, p. 46.

²⁰ Such incidents were described in separate court warrants by the Fiscal of the Territorial Audiencia of Manila as "robbery in band" [PNA, Legajo "Pampanga"]. At least twenty-nine such raids were recorded this way between January and November of 1897. Rebel bands varied in size from five to one hundred with most around twenty men. Their attacks

sions justified Governor-General Polavieja's description of Pampanga as "surrounded by a belt of fire."²¹

For their part, most Pampangans remained loyal to Spain. The caciques not only continued to hold office under the Spanish government but gave profuse assurances of support as well.²² Many Pampangans from the town of Macabebe served as volunteers in the colonial army alongside the traditional Pampangan mercenaries who remained in the pay of Spain. In late 1897 the troops from Macabebe acquitted themselves well against a rebel group lodged at the time on Mt. Arayat.²³ As late as November 17, General Primo de Rivera commented favorably on the enthusiasm of the Pampangans for the Spanish cause.²⁴ The loyalty of the Pampangans prompted the Spanish provincial governor, José Cánovas, to petition the governor-general for a new title to be conferred upon the province. Cánovas suggested "muy Española," "muy noble y muy leal," "muy heroica y siempre fiel," or "victorioso i invictia," explaining that the province had earned such an honorific by virtue of its continual support of the Spanish cause in all of the towns.²⁵ Every area of Pampanga had declared allegiance to the mother country and supplied the army with money, troops, laborers, horses, and medical aid. Moreover, the Pampangans, Cánovas noted, had resisted the threats and bribes of the rebels to join the revolutionary side.

With relative peace in the area²⁶ and continuous signs of

tended to cluster in certain periods: the middle of January, early February, the middle of May, and the middle of October.

²¹ PNA, Legajo "Pampanga," "Expediente sobre propuesta para que se comeda el dictado de 'Muy Leal' a la provincia de la Pampanga, 15 Octubre 1897."

²² LeRoy, I, 93.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁴ General Primo de Rivera, "Memorial to the Spanish Cortes, August, 1898," in Taylor, I, 38 LY.

²⁵ "Expediente sobre propuesta para que se comeda el dictado de 'Muy Leal' a la provincia de la Pampanga."

²⁶ In the period from August 23, 1896 to November 10, 1897, the Spanish army, including native mercenaries, suffered only eleven casualties in Pampanga (five killed and six wounded). This figure best illustrates the

Pampangan loyalty, the resident Spaniards did not let their uneasiness turn to panic. The friars stayed in their parishes, and the civilian personnel continued to operate the experimental station in Magalang.²⁷ Spanish farmers did not suddenly rush to sell their land and move to Manila,²⁸ and the civil officials went on functioning in a normal fashion. Even after remnants of Aguinaldo's army began to skirmish in Pampanga, many Spaniards stayed on.

When Aguinaldo retreated to Biak-na-Bato in July of 1897, the mode of warfare changed from open-field to guerrilla-type operations. His units began to infiltrate Central Luzon in August and reached Pampanga before the beginning of 1898. Nor did Aguinaldo's departure for Hong Kong in December (under the stipulations of the treaty of Biak-na-Bato) slow the rebel leaders, who continued to organize and harass the Spaniards.

The presence of Aguinaldo in the area and the switch to guerrilla warfare gradually changed the attitude of many Pampangans toward the war. In the beginning, most had been either pro-Spanish or neutral; later on, as rebel strength grew, more and more of them became neutral or shifted to pro-rebel. No great cataclysms occurred in the period of late 1897 and early 1898; there was simply a series of small incidents which, taken together, reflected the decline in Spanish prestige and power in the province. The first secret cell of the Katipunan was established in Guagua in August.²⁹ Two months later, a suspected member of the Katipunan escaped from Spanish authorities in

absence of fighting in Pampanga during the period. During the same period elsewhere, Spanish casualties numbered 2,660 ["Report of Spanish Casualties in Pampanga, August 23, 1896, to November 10, 1897," in Taylor, I, 17 LY].

²⁷ *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez as *The Souvenir Program on the Founding Day of Magalang, December 13, 1863-December 13, 1954* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1954), p. 29.

²⁸ PNA, *Protocolos*, Nos. 1942-1944 (for the year 1897).

²⁹ Captured document of Katipunan initiation rites in Guagua, August 3, 1897, quoted in Taylor, I, 93 FZ.

Angeles during a religious festival.³⁰ Shortly thereafter, Betis organized local volunteers to protect the town against impending hostilities in the area. On December 16, for the first time in over a year, multiple arrests and executions took place in four barrios of Candaba. A week later Candaba organized its own volunteer defense group.³¹ During this period several Spanish priests left for Manila, and the volunteer forces of San Pablo, San Simon successfully fought off a rebel attack on December 22.³²

Rebel strength continued to grow and to exert itself. In January the barrio people of Betis became alarmed because a group of Katipuneros from Santa Rita came to ask the whereabouts of a certain Don Martin Gosun, who in the meantime was staying at home "for security reasons."³³ By March the rebel leader Francisco Macabulos y Soliman had organized local juntas in every town of Pampanga.³⁴ About that time, Vicente Bravo together with Dr. Santa Maria and his family—all Spaniards of Guagua—were murdered; on the same day the Spanish Friar Urbano Vedoya left his parish in Candaba.

The rebel movement in Pampanga remained an undercurrent, though an increasingly important one, until May of 1898. Then within a few weeks it became abundantly clear that Spanish power in the Philippines was in jeopardy. Not only did the Americans destroy the Spanish navy in Manila Bay but Aguinaldo returned from Hong Kong with sufficient arms to challenge the Spanish army. Toward the end of the month, Maximino Hizon of Mexico began his successful recruitment of a Pampangan resistance army to heed Aguinaldo's call to arms.

³⁰ Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), pp. 21-22.

³¹ Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe* (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), pp. 46-47.

³² PNA, Legajo "Pampanga," Telegram to the Governor of Pampanga from the Municipal Capitan of San Simon, December 22, 1897.

³³ Betis Notebook, p. 20.

³⁴ Draft of a sketch of his career by F. Macabulos y Soliman, Insurgent General, July 10, 1898, quoted in Taylor, I, 68 LY.

Volunteer units which the Spaniards had formed and equipped in early May to fight the Americans defected to the rebel side two or three weeks later.³⁵

Almost all Pampangan local histories treat June 3, 1898 as the beginning of the revolution against Spain, for it was on this day that the Pampangans themselves commenced their fight against the colonial masters. In Bacolor the villagers rose up against the government garrison, chasing away the Spanish officers but leaving the town in the hands of the loyal Macabebe mercenaries.³⁶ In mid-month, government troops surrendered in Candaba, and others fought engagements with rebel units from Porac and Minalin. The revolutionary troops captured Macabebe on June 24, and on the following day a Spanish expedition of three hundred men went out from San Fernando to rescue the Augustinian friar in Angeles.³⁷ By this time all the remaining Spanish forces were grouped in San Fernando under General Monet, who thereupon set out on an orderly retreat southward toward Manila only to run into heavy rebel concentrations in Apalit, Minalin, and Santo Thomas. Monet escaped (by boat), but many of his troops did not and on July 1 surrendered in Hagonoy, Bulacan.³⁸ The era of Spanish colonialism in Pampanga had ended.

From June on, Pampanga was committed to the Philippine revolutionary cause. In that month San Luis' local volunteers joined the fighting in the south while others from Bacolor went to fight at San Isidro in Nueva Ecija. In July, contingents from Betis fought both around Manila and in Tarlac. About that time General Maximino Hizon ordered the execution of the

³⁵ San Luis Notebook, p. 12.

³⁶ Bacolor Notebook, p. 19; Punu History.

³⁷ Henson, p. 22.

³⁸ Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, pp. 104-105, 178; "History and Cultural Life of Minalin, Pampanga," HDP, p. 31. The Macabebe mercenaries managed to return to their home town and recapture it from the revolutionary army. Macabebe did not again fall until July 29, 1898; however, no Spaniards remained free in Pampanga after the surrender of Monet's forces at the beginning of July [Betis Notebook, p. 21].

Spanish parish priests of San Fernando and Mexico;³⁹ more than any other gesture, the killing of two Catholic priests symbolized the changed loyalty of the Pampangan people.

Politically, the provincial elite responded enthusiastically to the new regime, many taking office under the new system of local government organized by Aguinaldo.⁴⁰ All the town councils of the province ratified in August the Philippine documents of independence and signed in January 1899 a resolution protesting American annexation of the Philippines.⁴¹ At least two prominent Pampangans, Jose Alejandrino and Jose Infante, served in the Constitutional Convention at Malolos, Bulacan in late 1898. The elite also made continual, if modest, financial contributions to the Republican government.⁴²

In addition to their normal duties of administration, the local leaders performed their traditional role as mediators between the towns and the central government. For example, after the Malolos Convention, the word went around that General Antonio Luna contemplated destroying the town of Macabebe because of the loyalty of its soldiers to Spain. Don Macario Arnedo of Apalit went to Luna and dissuaded him from such a decision. Moreover, he convinced Luna to make a trip to Macabebe to calm the worried inhabitants.⁴³

³⁹ Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 2, 1964; Alejandrino, p. 41.

⁴⁰ Among the notable Pampangans to serve under Aguinaldo's government were Ceferino Joven as *jefe* (or mayor) of Bacolor and Tiburcio Hilario as provincial governor. During the second half of 1898 the Provincial Council of Pampanga consisted of Joven, Hilario, Mariano Vicente Henson, Mariano Alimurung, and Roman Vaides [PIR, Item 945/2, (microfilm) roll 56]. In setting up a local system of government, Aguinaldo applied very conservative policies and allowed suffrage only to men "distinguished for high character, social position and honorable conduct" [Agoncillo, *Malolos*, pp. 228, 283-285]. In other words, Aguinaldo merely perpetuated cacique society and government.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 260-262. In spite of the fact that Pampanga was one of the richest provinces in the Philippines, between May 31, 1898 and September 2, 1899 it only gave ₱51,051.71 to the revolutionary government, making it the fifteenth largest contributor.

⁴³ Alejandrino, p. 134.

The general mood of Pampangans in the second half of 1898 and the early months of 1899 was decidedly pro-Republic. Many towns held celebrations as the milestones on the way to independent government were passed.⁴⁴ Pampanga willingly accepted the changing political circumstances of the second phase of the revolution.

The revolution in Pampanga: phase three

When war between the Philippine Republic and the United States broke out on the night of February 4, 1899, Pampanga was still staunchly in the Filipino camp. Within the next few months the people of the province gave abundant evidence of their support for Aguinaldo's cause. During February, Aguinaldo's wife collected ₱8,000 from the people of Candaba.⁴⁵ The Bacolor School of Arts and Trades, partially destroyed in the fighting against Spain, was turned into a munitions plant that supplied guns and bullets for the Republican army.⁴⁶ On June 12, President Aguinaldo led the celebration in Angeles on the first anniversary of the proclamation of independence; the festivities were highlighted by civic and military parades.

Later on in the month, Pampangan principalia participated in the session of Congress convened at Tarlac, Tarlac. Ramon Henson, Enrique Macapinlac, Tiburcio Hilario (then governor of Pampanga), Gregorio Macapinlac, Eduardo Gutierrez David, and Maximino Hizon were among those from the province appointed to fill vacancies of delegates unable to attend from other areas. In addition, Jose Infante served as the duly elected representative of Pampanga, as he had for the Malolos Convention earlier. In a later session on July 14, Hilario was elected one of the vice presidents of the Congress, and Eduardo Gutierrez David and Enrique Macapinlac were chosen secretaries.⁴⁷

Cooperation between the Republic government and Pam-

⁴⁴ Gatbonton, p. 48; Bacolor Notebook, p. 14; Betis Notebook, p. 21.

⁴⁵ Gatbonton, p. 51.

⁴⁶ Bacolor Notebook, p. 23.

⁴⁷ Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, pp. 191-194.

pangans remained firm until May 1899; it began to waver as American troops advanced on the province. In fairly rapid order the Americans captured Apalit (April 27), Santo Tomas (May 4), San Fernando (May 4), Sexmoan (about May 15), Guagua (May 15), Betis (May 15), San Luis (May 17), and Santa Rita (May 26). The Filipino troops gave up few of the towns without a struggle and, while the armies clashed, the civilians fled to the barrios. Their fears were further aroused by tales of American atrocities perpetrated on noncombatants.⁴⁸ Only after the towns had been secured and it became evident that the horror stories were largely untrue did the people return to their homes.

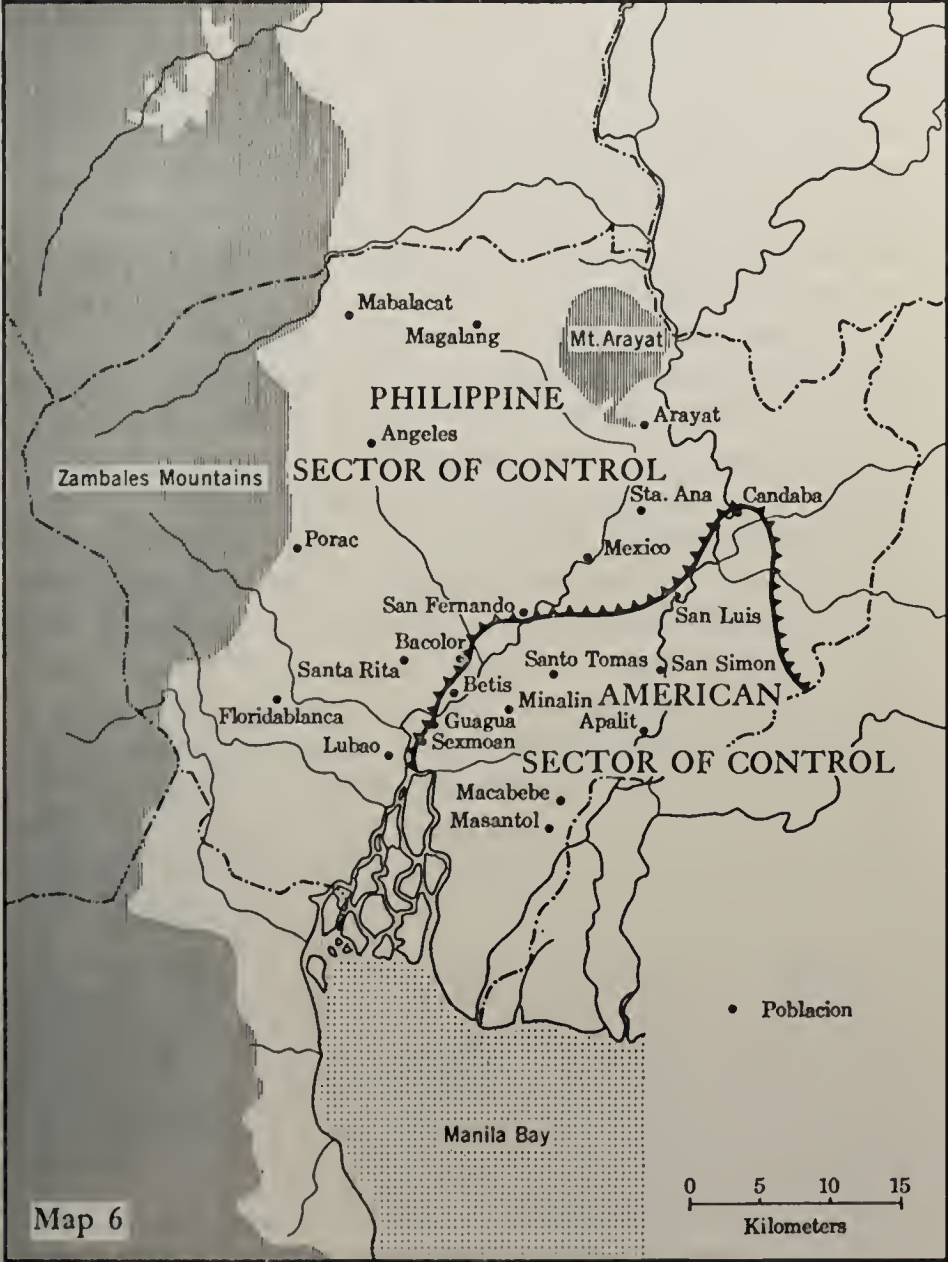
With the revival of peace and the evidence of American good will, Pampangans in the captured towns accepted fairly quickly the authority of the new masters. The actions of the retreating Filipino army facilitated their decision; in San Fernando, San Simon, and San Luis, General Luna ordered the burning of strategic areas. The people of San Luis long remembered that Captain Mariano Carlos, on the command of Luna, set the town ablaze on May 18, 1899.⁴⁹ Provincial leaders, for the most part, accepted the responsibility of reorganizing and running the local government. Only a few, out of loyalty to Aguinaldo or fear of Republican army reprisals, refused to hold office for the Americans.

Through May, the American advance northward proceeded at a quick and steady pace. Had the troops maintained that pace, Pampanga would have been free of hostilities in June. Unfortunately for the Pampangans, the beginning of the rainy season and the recall of American units that had finished their tour of duty bogged down the American advance in the middle of Pampanga (see Map 6). For the next four months the struggle between contending armies teetered back and forth causing

⁴⁸ Taylor, II, 4 HS; Gatbonton, p. 52.

⁴⁹ San Luis Notebook, p. 15; "History and Cultural Life of the Town of San Simon and Its Barrios," HDP, p. 2; Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Military Regime* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1916), p. 466.

APPROXIMATE BATTLE LINE SEPARATING PHILIPPINE AND AMERICAN FORCES IN PAMPANGA-JUNE, JULY, AUGUST 1899



great destruction to life, crops, and buildings. Only in September did the Americans, refurbished with regular troops, begin to inch forward at a steady rate. Bacolor was permanently secured at the beginning of the month; Angeles fell for the last time on September 20. In the meantime, recently hired and American-led Macabebe mercenaries eliminated pirates, bandits, and insurgents from the swampy areas of the province. Not, however, until the end of the rainy season in November did the Americans drive the Republican field army from the province with the capture of Mabalacat.⁵⁰ The fighting appeared to be over, and many Pampangans who had served with Aguinaldo's forces returned home.

But Pampanga was not yet finished with war, for on November 13 Aguinaldo called for a return to guerrilla warfare as Republican units filtered back into the province. Then began a pattern all too familiar in twentieth-century Southeast Asia. Guerrilla troops, living off the land, attacked isolated American stations and retreated before superior force. The Americans controlled the towns of Pampanga; guerrillas kept the countryside. Pampanga's civilians declared loyalty to the American regime and supplied the rebels with food and money; the principalia were threatened, fined, and punished by both sides.

During this final stage of the war, General Maximino Hizon exercised supreme command over Filipino troops in Pampanga, but he delegated much of his authority to General Jose Alejandrino, ever loyal to the cause of his country.⁵¹ The latter took over complete control of operations in June 1900, when the

⁵⁰ Taylor, II, 94-95 AJ, 6-9 HS; LeRoy, II, 41-42; Philippine Islands, Military Governor, *Report of Major General E. S. Otis, United States Army, Commanding Division of the Philippines, Military Governor, September 1, 1899 to May 5, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), pp. 11, 13. The *Manila Times* during August 1899 carried almost daily accounts of engagements between Filipino and U.S. troops. See also, Punu History; Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, p. 216.

⁵¹ Note from General Maximino Hizon to General Jose Alejandrino authorizing the latter to collect government taxes and contributions in Pampanga Province, December 26, 1899, PIR, Item 289/9, roll 22.

Americans captured Hizon.⁵² For the first seven or eight months of the guerrilla campaign, the Filipinos' tactics proved effective. Under threat of recriminations, the town officials of Angeles retracted the oaths of allegiance to America that they had made in December of 1899 and refused to hold municipal office.⁵³ The Filipinos kidnapped Don Florentino Pamintuan in June and made his family pay a ransom of ₱9,000.⁵⁴ In August 1900 guerrillas assassinated the collaborationist mayor of Candaba. Don Lorenzo Pecson, mayor of Betis, was kidnapped following his acceptance of office under the Americans.

Alejandrino's troops followed a standard policy of intimidation. Any Pampangan leader who took the American oath of allegiance was fined between ₱40 and ₱500, depending on his personal income. He was also ordered to retract his oath. Those holding office had to resign, and, for those guilty of particularly blatant acts of collaboration, the guerrillas imposed the death penalty.⁵⁵ A little later, when American pressure on Filipino units became stronger, the guerrillas assessed penalties of crop payments.⁵⁶ The accused received notification of charges, fines, and sentences by letter⁵⁷ and paid charges and fines to collectors

⁵² *Manila Times*, June 13, 1900, p. 1. Hizon was exiled in Guam along with other prominent insurrection leaders on January 7, 1901. He died there on September 1, 1901 [Apolinario Mabini, *Memoirs of the Philippine Revolution* (Manila: Asvel, 1964), II, 287].

⁵³ Kalaw, *Philippine Revolution*, p. 261.

⁵⁴ *Manila Times*, June 9, 1900, p. 1.

⁵⁵ List of those comprising the American Civil Government and their electors in San Fernando and the others who have been electors, PIR, Item 564/2, roll 33 (also includes fines imposed on the above by Alejandrino's General Order of September 1900); Letter from General Jose Alejandrino to his adjutant, Captain [later Major] Ramon Blardony, September 22, 1900, PIR, Item 562/8, roll 33.

⁵⁶ Severely worded general proclamation of Francisco Dizon, Insurrectionist Governor of Pampanga, saying that those officials who serve the Americans are subject to dire penalties including forfeitures to the rebel government of farm lands, September 20, 1900, PIR, Item 569/1, roll 33.

⁵⁷ Letter from Major Ramon Blardony to Pedro Paras of Mexico ordering him to pay a fine of ₱500 for collaboration with the Americans, October 10, 1900, PIR, Item 562/10, roll 33.

(usually loyal Pampangans) authorized as agents of Alejandrino's officers.⁵⁸

The Americans eventually subdued the guerrillas through several methods. Aside from armed pressure wherever possible, the army officers set about creating a stable situation for the civilian population by establishing civil municipal government quickly⁵⁹ and turning the leadership over to Pampangans. Bandits operating in the province were run down, captured, and executed.⁶⁰ In a more social vein, the Americans made every effort to mix with the local population. The commander in Pampanga, General Grant, and his staff attended several affairs held by leading Pampangans, and soldiers of lower rank took part in local festivities.⁶¹ For hardcore loyalists who refused to accept American sovereignty and who aided the guerrillas, the army resorted to arrests and imprisonment.⁶²

By October 1900 the Americans had clearly gained the upper hand in the province. In that month Major Ramon Blardony, Alejandrino's adjutant, wrote his superior complaining that he could collect no money because few Pampangans paid their fines or contributed willingly to the Filipino army.

⁵⁸ Letter from Major Ramon Blardony commissioning Sr. Augustin Mercado to make collections for the revolutionary government, September 15, 1900, PIR, Item 562/4, roll 33.

⁵⁹ Civil government came to some towns very rapidly and, for others, more slowly. Angeles, for example, was turned over to civilians on December 8, 1899 [*Manila Times*, December 9, 1899, p. 1]; Lubao did not receive civil government until September 22, 1900 [*ibid.*, September 21, 1900, p. 1].

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, March 15, 1900, p. 1; October 6, 1900, p. 1.

⁶¹ On May 24, 1900, General Grant (officer in charge of the Pampanga military district) held a reception at his residence in Angeles for the leading citizens of the town [*ibid.*, May 27, 1900, p. 1]. To revive a custom from Spanish times, Señor (the term "Don" appears to have lost some of its appeal in the early American period) Ignacio Magdangal held a ball at his home in Arayat to celebrate his marriage and invited many of the American officers in the area. Music was supplied by the 22nd Infantry Band [*ibid.*, May 22, 1900, p. 1]. U.S. soldiers participated in the Christmas festivities held in Mabalacat [*ibid.*, December 26, 1900, p. 1].

⁶² Betis Notebook, pp. 28-29; Punu History.

Shortly thereafter, Blardony resigned his commission and was captured by the Americans.⁶³

Throughout the following months, many signs indicated that the revolutionary cause was dying. In December and January, members of several town councils joined the newly formed Federal Party which advocated cooperation with the United States and ultimately American statehood for the Philippines.⁶⁴ The Roman Catholic apostolic delegate visited Pampanga on February 8, 1901 and was hospitably received in the towns he visited.

On February 13, 1901 the Taft Commission in solemn ceremonies held at Bacolor inaugurated civil government in Pampanga under the governorship of Ceferino Joven. This occasion announced to all that the revolution was over; General Alejandrino's voluntary surrender in April only confirmed that the first Philippine Republic was dead in Pampanga.⁶⁵

Pampanga's role in the revolution

The delegates to the inauguration of civil government came from seventeen of the twenty-two municipalities of the province. All were elected officials in their home towns, and all came from the principalia class of Spanish times; the revolution had produced no startling changes in provincial leadership. Many of those who had held office during the days of the Philippine Republic no longer served under the Americans, but a few, notably

⁶³ Letter from Major Ramon Blardony to General Jose Alejandrino, ca. October 24, 1900, PIR, Item 562/14, roll 33. Letter from ex-Major Ramon Blardony to General Jose Alejandrino, ca. October 24, 1900, PIR, Item 562/15, roll 33. An article in *La Fraternidad* (Manila), November 3, 1900, p. 1, stated that Blardony, a Spaniard who had joined the revolution, was captured, quite ill, by the Americans and taken to Manila where he refused to give any information about his colleagues in arms.

⁶⁴ Gathbonton, p. 54; Betis Notebook, p. 29.

⁶⁵ *Manila Times*, April 30, 1901, p. 1. In his last few months prior to his capture, Alejandrino suffered rather severely from hunger due to the pursuit of the American army [Alejandrino, p. 11].

Ceferino Joven of Bacolor and Lorenzo Pecson of Betis, still retained their positions.⁶⁶ In spite of some changes of personnel, the caciques as a class still dominated the political life of the province.

This marked continuity in leadership reflected the fact that no real internal revolution had taken place in Pampanga. The social and political problems of the Tagalogs did not apply there. When the upheaval came, no one wanted change. As a result, Pampanga's role in the Philippine Revolution must, in the end, be described as a passive one. Almost all Pampangan concern with the revolution was generated by external events and pressures. The Pampangans never initiated any of the controversies of the period but only responded to them, favorably or unfavorably, when forced to do so.

The Pampangans reacted to each phase of the revolution according to their own self-interest and need for survival. At times their interest coincided with the aims of a broader Filipino nationalism and at times not. Pampanga's leaders, though in favor of moderate reform of the Spanish colonial regime, backed down on the issue of complete independence. Yet once the Spaniards were eliminated from contention, a native government loomed as the best alternative. Finally, when Aguinaldo's government failed to hold the country, Pampanga accepted the stability offered by the Americans.

An observer might cynically point out that the Pampangans only sided with the winner, no matter who it was; but this judgment is unfair. The landlords belonged to a conservative tradition that looked to stable government for the preservation of their property. Politically they were committed to no ideology,

⁶⁶ U.S. War Department, U.S. Philippine Commission, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901: Report of the Philippine Commission in Two Parts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), Pt. 2, 11-17. Among the most notable examples of Pampangans serving both sides was Don Enrique Macapinlac, who in June of 1899 was an official of Aguinaldo's government at Tarlac but who less than a year later, in May 1900, was appointed by the Americans, Judge of the Court of First Instance for Pampanga [*Manila Times*, May 5, 1900, p. 1].

and none of the three powers in the struggle—Spain, the Philippine Republic, or the United States—threatened the sanctity of private property. In some way or another, each power recognized the traditional role of the elite and called upon them to supply leadership in times of crisis. The Pampangans willingly cooperated with the government that promised them the most peace and order. The choice was not always an easy one, and many were killed for their commitment. Hizon may have died in exile for supporting Aguinaldo, but other Pampangans perished at the hands of the guerrillas for backing the Americans.⁶⁷ Ultimately the Pampangan acceptance of American sovereignty in 1901 implied not so much a rejection of Aguinaldo's government as a desire to return to peace.

The experiences of the Pampangans from 1896 to 1901 refute somewhat the claims of nationalist historians that the revolution was an archipelago-wide reaction to colonialism. On the other hand, the contention of colonial historians that the revolution was only a Tagalog affair also needs revision. The Pampangans played a role commensurate with their own social and economic interests and needs for survival. On occasion their actions suited the political aims of the revolutionary government and at times went against those aims. Only when many other regional studies have been completed will it be possible to assess in a broad fashion the meaning and extent of the revolution. A better answer to this crucial question will finally emerge when the social and economic realities in the provinces are more clearly understood.

From 1896 to 1901 the Pampangans suffered severe economic and physical hardships. For five years the Philippine economy was disrupted and no market existed for sugar, the

⁶⁷ Their situation was similar to that faced by prominent Americans during the revolution of 1776. The American historian Carl Becker pointed out the dilemma of propertied colonists who had to decide between the Tories and the Patriots. Their choice was frequently made for the most pragmatic of reasons. See *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1960).

province's major source of income. Moreover, the constant warfare after 1898 upset the agricultural cycle, making even the growing of rice for home consumption difficult. In the months of June and July 1899, for example, when farmers should have been planting their rice seed, the Filipino and American armies were fighting for control of the central part of the province. Sometimes there was famine and, in places, the barrio people were reduced to eating boiled banana stumps.⁶⁸ Passing armies burned crops, homes, and public buildings and destroyed livestock. Marauding bandits, taking advantage of the anarchic times, moved about freely, robbing, killing, and kidnapping.

The revolution also placed great strains upon the provincial elite. During the entire period, they were forced to make decisions or take stands that jeopardized their own safety. Various of them were threatened, abused, kidnapped, robbed, jailed, exiled, or killed. The elite's quest for peace and tranquillity must be understood in the context of these conditions.

In spite of the degradations inflicted upon their leaders and the harsh circumstances of the times, the peasants neither rebelled against their caciques nor took action independent of them. External pressures simply could not shake the stable relations between tenant and landlord that had developed over more than three hundred years. When peace finally came, the Pampangans faced the new era relatively unchanged by the preceding years of calamity.

⁶⁸ "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis," pp. 20-21. The food scarcity during the years 1896 to 1900 was aggravated by several years of drought as well.

My journey to the Philippines was a momentous event to one so green as I.

Carroll Peabody

6

American Colonialism

THE SHIFT in colonial overlordship at the turn of the century necessarily produced political changes in Pampanga. The underlying republican ideal of American political thought, coupled with the particular conditions of United States colonial rule, led naturally to provincial government with heavy native participation. The new structure differed significantly from the religious and centralized form of government that had prevailed in the nineteenth century under the aegis of Catholic monarchical Spain. The elected Pampangan governor and the provincial board became the symbols and sources of local administrative power, replacing the Spanish executives and friar pastors of old.

What is more difficult to ascertain is the role of the Americans in bringing about social and economic change in Pampangan society. This problem breaks down into a number of separate questions. What were America's intentions for the Pampangans and the other peoples of the Philippines? In which ways and with which persons did the new colonialists attempt to implement their policies? How effective were local American representatives at influencing the lives of the Pampangans? These topics must be examined in some detail before broader

inquiries into the nature of change under the American imperialism can be undertaken.

Ultimately the task of introducing the newest in Western ideas fell upon the American successors to the Spanish friars and local officers. The newcomers possessed two methods of persuasion: they could exert an impact through their official positions, creating new programs and institutions, and they could encourage change through personal contact with the people of the province. The former method proved more successful than the latter.

American policy toward the Philippines

When Dewey entered Manila Bay in May 1898, there were few Americans in any capacity who had ever thought of the Philippines much less the development of a Philippine policy. Yet in less than a year the decision had been reached committing the United States to the formation of a system of government for a foreign territory of immense diversity. The necessity to improvise a program fell largely on the shoulders of men who knew little of the Philippines and wholly on men who did not know the Islands intimately. Necessarily then, the resulting program initially reflected immediate considerations and the American spirit of the times much more than any clear-sighted, long-range philosophy.

The American attitude toward the Philippines involved at least three different sentiments. The first, the imperialists' desire for new economic and military bases in the Orient, as verbalized by men like Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, was largely satisfied with the actual acquisition of the new territories in the Pacific. The second, religious zeal, manifested itself in the early rush of the Protestant missionaries to the Islands in order to convert souls to Christianity. The fact that the Philippine population was already overwhelmingly Roman Catholic did not seem in any way to deter Protestant enthusiasm. American church groups, both Protestant and Catholic, saw their mission as more than the mere baptizing of

Filipinos; they wanted to make the natives better Christians through the medium of moral and social uplift.¹ Maintaining the Philippines as an American colony meant freeing the Islands from the reputedly retarding hold of Spanish Catholicism, epitomized by the reactionary friar.²

In its social goals, the missionary spirit overlapped the third prevalent American sentiment, the optimistic and reformist spirit of progressivism. Together they constituted a specialized rendition of the justification that overlay much of nineteenth century European imperialism, namely the urgency of civilizing and improving the physical conditions of the unfortunate (i.e. nonwhite) part of the world. The American version differed from its European counterpart in that welfare was heavily stressed at the expense of the profit motive. At the same time, policy-makers realized that improved conditions in the native sector would undoubtedly produce a more stable environment in which American commercial interests could thrive.³ And, of

¹ Gerald H. Anderson, "Providence and Politics Behind Protestant Missionary Beginnings in the Philippines," in Gerald H. Anderson, (ed.), *Studies in Philippine Church History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 279-300. For an account of American Catholic interest in Philippine development see Frank T. Reuter, *Catholic Influence on American Colonial Policies 1898-1904* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), *passim*. See also Oscar Evangelista, "Religious Problems in the Philippines and the American Catholic Church," *Asian Studies*, VI (December 1968), 248-262.

² James LeRoy, *Philippine Life in Town and Country* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905), pp. 10, 126-156. In terms of the American popular image of the Filipinos, ex-Governor-General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. felt it necessary as late as 1937 to dispel the notion that the natives of the Islands were still "savages" [Theodore Roosevelt, *Colonial Policies of the United States* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1937), p. 134].

³ William J. Pomeroy, *American Neo-Colonialism: Its Emergence in the Philippines and Asia* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), *passim*; H. Wayne Morgan, *America's Road to Empire: The War with Spain and Overseas Expansion* (New York, London, and Sydney: John Wiley and Sons, 1965), p. 97; George E. Taylor, *The Philippines and the United States: Problems of Partnership* (New York and London: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), pp. 59-60; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), p. 161.

course, the money for this development all came from local Philippine taxes.

To some degree the emphasis on welfare came about in the face of the strong anti-imperialist sentiment which opposed from the outset the taking of the Philippines. Any American advantage was to be enjoyed only when well cloaked in programs of native uplift and veiled in promises of ultimate independence. The way to achieve the desired results involved the approved progressive formula of changing the conditions and institutions that retard. The benefits had to go deep into society and involve all sectors so that real progress could be assured. Honest administration, efficient and democratic, had to be responsible for supervising the general uplift.

The burden of translating American attitudes into administrative policy fell chiefly into the hands of the members of the Schurman and first Taft commissions, reporting to Secretary of War Elihu Root. Improved physical facilities, better public health, and a massive program of public education became the cornerstones for that policy.⁴ All three, which guided American planning in the first decade of occupation, were designed to pave the way for a more progressive society, ready, finally, at some far distant date, to take on the responsibilities of independent nationhood.

Almost immediately, however, the United States faced a number of problems that undermined the policy of uplift. First of all, there was a shortage of qualified personnel to undertake the monumental task of remolding Filipino society. This shortage stretched not only to trained technicians but also to persons sufficiently knowledgeable about the Philippines. Additionally, the turnover of Americans was quite rapid, pre-

⁴ Throughout the years 1901 to 1913 these three aspects of welfare were stressed. However, certain of the governors-general emphasized one aspect at the expense of the other two. Cameron Forbes, for example, during his tenure in that high office from 1909 to 1913 neglected education somewhat in favor of a greater concern for and investment in public works [Robert M. Spector, "W. Cameron Forbes in the Philippines: A Proconsul," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, VII (September 1966)].

cluding the possibility of developing the needed staff.⁵ Second, Philippine society already possessed its own distinct character which had evolved through the pre-Hispanic and Spanish centuries; it simply proved less malleable than American planners had assumed it would. Nothing but the most drastic steps could have seriously altered the basic institutions and culture of the Filipinos. In the third place, the governing of the Philippines was just one of many problems that absorbed the interest of the United States at that period. Had the Philippines become as important to the American economy as, say, Java was to the Dutch, major concern with policy might have continued. As it turned out, Congress and the executive branch spread their attention over wide-ranging problems of foreign policy and territorial administration.

The end result of these various limitations was that a small handful of colonial administrators on the spot held major responsibility for the governance of the widely scattered and diverse people of the Philippines. Thus, American achievements in the Islands ultimately reflected the visions, energies, abilities, limitations, and prejudices of these officials more than the aims of American leadership in general. The government may have selected the people who went out to the Islands, but the character of the personnel defined the contours of policy. Overall authority in the Islands during the years 1901 to 1913 rested with the Philippine Commission, composed of seven members and the governor-general. Even though an elected legislative assembly was added to the government structure in 1907, the commission, serving as an upper house, exerted disproportionately heavy influence until 1913. Throughout the period, only seventeen men—eleven American and six Filipino—served on the commission.⁶ By and large, the Americans represented the most con-

⁵ Corpuz, pp. 177-181.

⁶ For a complete list of the members of the Philippine Commission, as well as the names of other important officials in the first decade of American occupation, see Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1917), pp. 509-512.

servative thinking of the Progressive Era and were strongly influenced by William Howard Taft, the first governor, whose impress lingered long after he personally left the commission in 1904. The six Filipinos, lawyers and businessmen from the ilustrado class, shared the nonrevolutionary spirit of their fellow commissioners.⁷

As a group, then, the commission in this period made no effort at sweeping changes of social, economic, or political institutions. Rather, the members sought to bring about reform gradually via improvements in governmental organization, public works, health, and education. Social inequality, economic imbalance, and mass political participation were placed in the realm of long-range evolution. Change, yes, but at a very gradual pace. When compared with the colonial establishments of other areas of Southeast Asia, the Taft Commission looked very liberal—even perhaps radical. The expenditure on public welfare and the encouragement of native participation at all levels of government certainly had no equal elsewhere in the colonial world. Yet the price of this relatively expensive program of public welfare and the extensive native sharing in administration was a commitment to the social, economic, and political status quo in the native sector of society. The chief beneficiaries of much of the American program were the old, wealthy members of the powerful native upper class, as only they possessed the high qualifications needed to fill the civil service and appointive positions created by the new regime. Moreover, the stringent limits placed on the suffrage guaranteed an elite monopoly on politics. Public works projects undertaken in communications, irrigation, public markets, and harbor facilities mainly served the

⁷ W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), I, 139, 143-145; Dean C. Worcester, *The Philippines Past and Present*, ed. J. R. Hayden (rev. ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1930), p. 283; Whitney T. Perkins, *Denial of Empire: The United States and Its Dependencies* (Leyden: A. W. Sythoff, 1962), p. 208; Oscar M. Alfonso, "Taft's Views on 'The Philippines for the Filipinos,'" *Asian Studies*, VI (December 1968), 237-247.

needs of established large-scale farmers and prosperous businessmen with supraprovincial interests. The government shied away from intensive efforts at effective land redistribution, easily available credit facilities for the poor, and subsidized education for their children. To have done so would have put the Taft commissioners well beyond their time and place; moreover they lacked the resources, mandate, and imagination for such endeavors. Nevertheless, because they did not move in these latter directions, the basic fabric of Philippine society was left intact.

Colonial practice in Pampanga

In Pampanga, as in other provinces, the Philippine Commission relied heavily on native officials to expedite policy. This procedure satisfied a number of purposes. It provided Pampanga with a group of leaders already familiar with local problems. It supplied a necessary substitute for trained American executive talent, in such great demand at the time. And, finally, it fulfilled America's avowed intention of creating democratic institutions at the grass-roots level, by placing local responsibility in local hands.

To facilitate administration in Pampanga, the commission delegated much of its authority in local matters to the newly created provincial government. Under the new system, highest authority belonged to the Pampanga Provincial Board consisting of a governor and two other members.⁸ The governor served as the chief executive officer in the province and had control of

⁸ The major source of information on the establishment of civil government in Pampanga can be found in: U.S. War Department, U.S. Philippine Commission, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901: Report of the Philippine Commission in Two Parts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), Pt. 2, 11-17. Two other important provincial offices were set up at the time. The first was that of provincial fiscal, charged with prosecuting all crimes occurring in the province. The second position belonged to the provincial secretary. Neither official had voting power on the provincial board, although the secretary attended and kept the minutes of the board meetings.

the provincial police force, accounting for his performance by the submission of an annual report to the commission in Manila. Except for the appointment of Ceferino Joven as the first governor for the year 1901 to 1902, governors were elected by the municipal councillors of the various towns.

Throughout the first decade, the second member of the board was designated by the commission and served as treasurer, exercising fiscal responsibility. The other position on the board underwent several changes between 1901 and 1910. From the establishment of provincial government until 1905 the third spot was held by the district engineer (called a supervisor), who was commission-appointed to oversee public works. In 1905 the Bureau of Public Works took over the functions of the district engineer, and the provincial superintendent of schools took his seat on the board. The commission, in 1907, removed the superintendent of schools and added an elected native as third member, thus giving locally chosen officials numerical control of the board from that time on.

Perhaps the single most important administrative matter to be settled in Pampanga during the first decade was clarification of the respective roles of the central and provincial governments, both of which spent much time in this period of adjustment determining more precisely its own functions and learning to exercise them. In general, responsibility for decision-making in provincial affairs slowly gravitated from the Philippine Commission to the Pampanga Provincial Board, though initially the central government, as could be expected, moved cautiously toward turning over authority to the provinces. But as native leaders established their position vis-à-vis the new colonial masters, and particularly after the commission's responsibilities began to multiply, the process accelerated, and by 1910 there was noticeably more power over local affairs at the provincial level.

From the outset the commission reserved for itself some of the most important powers, such as control of tax and currency policy, judicial appointments, overall supervision of public works, and creation of new political units. The commission established a new system of personal and land taxes in Pam-

panga between 1901 and 1905;⁹ furthermore, it was to the commission that Pampangans appealed for tax remission during the years of agricultural crisis following the revolutionary era.¹⁰ In addition, the commission took responsibility for changing the old Spanish mixed currency system to a new uniform Filipino one, a process which involved a transition period in Pampanga when enforcement of the new system proved difficult.¹¹ Even the policing of commerce on the Rio Grande de la Pampanga rested with the customs service working out of Manila; members of this executive bureau punished Pampangan violators of the rules of river traffic.¹² Besides its broad financial powers, the commission also held the purse strings for large public works projects. It authorized loans and provided funds from the treasury for the construction of municipal halls, markets, and public schools, and it set aside public lands for such projects as an agricultural station in Magalang and a gravel quarry in Arayat.¹³

The power of judicial appointment also remained in the hands of the central government. As part of its program to create a regional court system, the commission divided the Philippines into a series of judicial districts, each supplied with a court of first instance. These courts settled criminal and civil cases within their jurisdiction; however, such cases could be appealed to the Supreme Court of the Philippines. Judges of the courts of first instance were named, with the consent of the commission, by the governor-general of the Islands. Pampanga was placed within the fourth judicial district which also included the provinces of Tarlac and Nueva Ecija. In the first decade of American civil rule two Filipinos, Manuel Araullo

⁹ Punu History; Macario Siccion, untitled history of Pampanga, 1896-1932, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (unpublished MS in the possession of the author in Apalit), p. 15.

¹⁰ *Manila Times*, May 25, 1903, p. 1.

¹¹ Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), pp. 27-29.

¹² *Manila Times*, December 3, 1904, p. 1.

¹³ BIA, 3287-6, 11764-1.

and Julio Llornate, neither a Pampangan, held the position of judge of the court of first instance.¹⁴ The choice of these two non-Pampangan judges indicates the government's desire to make the court as free as possible from local influence.

For justice responsive to local conditions, the Americans employed the justice of the peace system, resembling the American model, to handle petty civil and criminal cases. In Pampanga, as elsewhere, justices, all local residents of the province, were initially appointed by the commission upon the recommendation of the provincial board; however, in 1906 the privilege of recommendation was turned over to the judge of the court of first instance.¹⁵ Thus, though Pampangans did have some control and participation in the legal framework, the power of designation and the definition of duties ultimately resided with the authorities in Manila.

In another important matter, that of municipal reorganization, the commission retained broad powers. For example, as an economy move, the central government in 1904 reduced the number of municipalities in Pampanga from twenty-three to seventeen.¹⁶ It was with the approval of the commission, further-

¹⁴ *Manila Times*, June 18, 1901, p. 1; July 13, 1910, p. 5; Forbes, I, 301; Bureau of Education, "Local, Geographical and Historical Notes: Province of Pampanga," (unpublished pamphlet, filed August 18, 1915) BIA, 2764-23, p. 1.

¹⁵ BIA, 1979-2, pp. 1, 285, 289, 620, 624; Forbes, I, 312-313.

¹⁶ The consolidation of the various municipalities was a somewhat confused and ill-conceived affair. Done as a matter of economy and efficiency, consolidation apparently so offended local pride that most of the combinations had to be undone. The following list gives, as simply as possible, the various steps of the procedure:

<i>Year and town consolidated:</i>	<i>Town joined with:</i>	<i>Year returned to original status:</i>
1904 Betis	Guagua	Never
1904 Masantol	Macabebe	1907
1904 San Simon	San Luis	1907
1904 Minalin	San Fernando	1909
1904 Sexmoan	Guagua	1910
1904 Santa Ana	Arayat	1911
1905 Santo Tomas	San Fernando	1952

[Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns* (4th ed. rev.; Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1965), pp. 102, 130, 164; "Historical Data

more, that the capital of Pampanga was moved, also in 1904, from Bacolor to San Fernando.¹⁷

While the commission retained ultimate authority in most important matters, it depended heavily on the provincial board for implementation of its decisions and from early in the decade on, provincial officials began to offer the commission new planning suggestions, many of which were adopted. The annual reports of the governor of Pampanga, for example, contained numerous recommendations for action.¹⁸ One of the first such proposals, contained in the report for 1903, called for the consolidation of a number of municipalities. The action taken by the commission in 1904 can be traced to this initiative at the provincial level the year before. Increasingly the board, through the provincial governor, applied for loans for various public works projects and decided which jobs should be undertaken. If the commission retained the broad reins of power, the provincial board was exerting greater influence as time passed.

The transfer of power from the central to the provincial level represented one major administrative trend. A second trend, which occurred primarily at the provincial level, was the movement of authority from the hands of appointed American officials to those of elected native officials. The changes on the Pampanga Provincial Board, finally leading to a Pampangan majority in 1907, do not necessarily convey the rate at which native officials acquired control of provincial affairs. The mere fact of possessing numerical superiority in votes would not have guaranteed the Pampangans dominance in board matters; the treasurer, with his fiscal responsibilities and his prestige as an American appointed by Manila, could have asserted influence outweighing his single vote on the board. Rather, it is through the particular circumstances and the conditions of

Regarding the Barrios and Town of Santa Ana, Pampanga," HDP, p. 2; Cristino Lagman, "Minalin, Pampanga, I.F., documentos historicos," LPC, p. 28].

¹⁷ BIA, 2764-16.

¹⁸ The existing reports of the governor of Pampanga are located in two separate places: those for 1902 and 1909 to 1916 in BIA, 2074, and those for 1903 to 1908 in the annual reports of the Philippine Commission.

tenure of office in Pampanga, as well as through the personalities of the various officials concerned, that the real shifts in power must be seen. Charting this transfer of power can only be done impressionistically, for the changes took place, for the most part, within the existing system rather than through any structural alteration.

For reasons of expediency the first Americans appointed to the board were army officers transferred from their regular military duties to civilian posts.¹⁹ These early appointees, as military men, possessed the prestige and assurance of conquerors who had marched and fought their way through Pampanga during the years of strict martial rule preceding civilian control. Typical of their attitudes are the comments of a young army lieutenant serving in Pampanga in 1903 who, in a letter to his commanding officer General Grant, referred to Governor Joven, the highest elected official in the province, as "an unscrupulous native" simply because the latter did not give personal attention to the repairs upon a building being used by the army.²⁰

The actions of some of these ex-officers bear out this notion of their strong position vis-à-vis the native member of the board. For example, Captain Robert M. Shearer, one of the early treasurers, appears to have exerted his position in fiscal affairs fully and quite independently and to have assumed personal responsibility for deciding how much of the tax funds collected should be spent and for what.²¹ Similarly, the early district engineers maintained their full measure of control over building

¹⁹ BIA, 2764-2, 2764-3, 2764-5, 1979-2, pp. 11, 236, 285.

²⁰ Letter from General F. D. Grant, July 9, 1903, to Lt. General Miles, Division of the Philippines, U.S. National Archives, War Department Section, Record 489447, pp. 2-3.

²¹ *Manila Times*, April 3, 1903, p. 6. Shearer's career in the civil service of the Philippines extended throughout the first decade of the American regime. He did not remain long in Pampanga and, by 1910, had risen to the position of special agent on the staff of Governor-General W. C. Forbes. He still, however, maintained his social ties with the province and visited its leaders formally and informally on several occasions [*Manila Times*, July 19, 1910, p. 4; August 6, 1910, p. 1; Philippine Islands, Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of Officers and Employees*, January 1, 1908 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1908), p. 11].

projects. In 1902 Governor Joven complained that public works endeavors in the province were slowed down because of the absence of a supervisor.

However, the position of the Americans on the board was eventually weakened by the fairly rapid turnover of officers. Constant rotation of various units back to the States and the need for officials elsewhere shortened their tenure, while native officials remained on the job for much longer periods. In the first decade there were only two Pampangan governors of the province, but there were either seven or eight treasurers and at least four (and probably more) district engineers between 1901 and 1905.²² Moreover, the army officers were in time replaced by American civilian officials who did not possess the same prestige as their military predecessors.

Another factor that assisted the switch in power from American to Pampangan hands was the growth in status of the office of the governor of the province. This enhancement was attributable largely to the second man who held the position, Macario Arnedo. The first incumbent, Ceferino Joven, had not been in a position to take too independent a stand on issues of administration; he was an appointee and personal choice of military governor General Frederick D. Grant who liked Joven because he "was of great service in bringing about a condition of peace in the Province of Pampanga"²³ during the revolutionary era. The Philippine Commission had appointed Joven for his initial term, 1901 to 1902. He won a second term, 1902 to 1904, on his own but the election was hotly contended: the balloting required two days to complete and Joven emerged the victor only after misleading the municipal councillors with the suggestion that, unless he won, the Philippine Commission would void the whole procedure.²⁴ Furthermore, his refusal as governor to make adequate use of the constabulary in the province, his failure to leave his home in Bacolor to visit other

²² "Local, Geographical and Historical Notes," p. 2.

²³ Letter from General F. D. Grant, pp. 2-3.

²⁴ BIA, 2764-4, 2764-7; *Manila Times*, February 28, 1902, p. 1.

municipalities, and his concern with ceremonies and festivities rather than administrative chores provoked unofficial censure in the American-run *Manila Times*.²⁵ Joven may well have been modeling his behavior after that of the administrators he had viewed during the Spanish years, when many officeholders had merely used their positions for private gain and had not taken an active role in performing their governing duties. Only the ceremoniousness of office had shown through to native observers. No evidence exists to indicate that Joven personally profited from his own position; nevertheless, his lack of action obviously did not appeal to Americans enthusiastic about their new experiment in native government. Indeed, Joven's prestige with the Americans was so low that he could not, in spite of a personal appeal to Secretary of War Root, keep his home town of Bacolor from losing its position of eminence as provincial capital.²⁶ That honor went to San Fernando in 1904.

Arnedo, on the other hand, was duly elected four times between 1904 and 1909.²⁷ After 1907 he had the additional status of being selected by a wider electorate in conformity with the new calling for the direct election of provincial governors. Only in the election of 1909 was his mandate seriously questioned. It took almost fourteen months for the courts to settle an election dispute with Francisco Liongson.²⁸ But Arnedo had added considerably to the standing of the office of governor, winning

²⁵ *Manila Times*, March 4, 1902, p. 5.

²⁶ BIA, 2764-13.

²⁷ The following list gives the tenure of the various governors of Pampanga during the first decade of civil government.

<i>Term</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
Feb. 1901 to 1902	Ceferino Joven (appointed)
Feb. 1902 to 1904	Ceferino Joven (elected)
Feb. 1904 to 1906	Macario Arnedo (elected)
Feb. 1906 to Nov. 1907	Macario Arnedo (elected)
Nov. 1907 to 1909	Macario Arnedo (elected-expanded electorate)
Nov. 1909 to Mar. 1911	Macario Arnedo (elected)
Mar. 1911 to Nov. 1911	Mariano Lim (appointed)

[*Manila Times*, February 2, 1904, p. 6; February 6, 1906, p. 1; November 6, 1907, p. 1; January 9, 1911, p. 7; March 26, 1912, p. 31].

²⁸ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1910, p. 5; July 20, 1910, pp. 1, 3.

both the favor of the Americans and the support of the provincial leaders.²⁹ His reports to the commission, more assertive than those of his predecessor, contained many recommendations and often announced actions already undertaken. Rather than rely on his provincial treasurer, Arnedo, sometimes in person, made direct appeals to Manila for public works loans.³⁰ He was even able to arrange funding for construction of a new municipal building and a manual training school in his own town of Apalit.³¹ The differences in performance between Arnedo and Joven indicate how far the Pampangans had come in asserting their position vis-à-vis the central government. By 1910 the province had achieved a greater measure of autonomy than at any time since the coming of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century.

While the role and number of Americans at the top administrative ranks in Pampanga dwindled from 1901 to 1910, a considerable number of them continued to serve at the lower levels. They can be classified chiefly as technicians of one type or another: school teachers and supervisors, engineers, health officers, and constabulary officers. Their primary responsibility was to carry out the programs of the executive branch devised in Manila and the provincial capital. Yet American influence in Pampangan life owed some of its character to the related activities of these colonial servants.

Education

American administrators pursued their goals of social and economic progress through a variety of programs, but the one

²⁹ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1905, p. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, February 27, 1907, p. 3; July 10, 1907, p. 3.

³¹ BIA, 2764-19, 2764-20. The experience described here in Pampanga essentially goes against Salamanca's finding that overall decision-making gravitated toward the central government during the Taft era [Bonifacio Salamanca, *The Philippine Reaction to American Rule 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1968), pp. 55-57]. The case study of Pampanga suggests that a modified view on Taft policy for the Philippines might well be in order.

that required the most American personnel was education. In most regions one American doctor could supervise a modern health program staffed with native physicians, and one American engineer could watch over all necessary road and building construction carried on by native workmen. But to develop the schools of a single province and to use the colonial tongue as the medium of instruction called, initially at least, for the assignment of one teacher of English to each municipality.

So, in Pampanga, as in other provinces, American teachers constituted the largest and most visible group of civil servants. On a daily basis they came into contact with a wide range of people: students, parents, native teachers, and local officials. Teachers resided in most of the municipalities in order to be close to their assignments, whereas other civilian personnel tended to cluster in the area of the provincial capital. A number of instructors spent substantial periods of time in the province as well. Down to the present day older Pampangans usually remember the names of their former instructors only, and not the ones of any other Americans who served in the province.

The accomplishments of these teachers in the first ten years of U.S. civil government amounted to a substantial success. The number of students attending classes in the province rose from around 3,400 in 1901 to over 13,000 in 1910, and the number of schools jumped from 41 to 185 in the same period.³² The quality of the education and its effects upon Pampangan society will be examined in the next chapter. Here it is enough to observe that the teachers, by their presence and their achievements, had the strongest opportunity of any Westerners to influence the lives of the natives of the province.

However, the nature and extent of their educational responsibilities hampered the effectiveness of these teachers as apostles of change and of democratic values. Deeply engrossed in

³² U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), Pt. 3, 787; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, pp. 4-5.

their work, they always remained somewhere on the outskirts of Pampangan society. They related to those around them primarily in a professional rather than a personal way. Furthermore, the American teacher corps was simply spread too thinly to affect greatly native ways. A review of the changing role of the teacher in Pampanga between 1900 and 1910 emphasizes these limitations.

Apparently the first attempts at educating the children of Pampanga were made by the military occupying army, but from the historical evidence this beginning must have been weak. American troops during 1900 and part of 1901 were involved in an intermittent counterinsurgent campaign and would scarcely have had time to conduct a continuous educational program. It also appears doubtful that the army possessed the personnel or the schoolbooks to teach children in sufficient numbers on a formal basis. In all probability, any educational efforts by the military remained casual, uncoordinated, and quite temporary.³³

The real work of public instruction began in September 1901 as twenty-five civilian teachers, newly landed from the United States aboard the *U. S. A. T. Thomas*, took up assignments in nineteen municipalities of the province.³⁴ These so-called "Thomasites," and those who joined them shortly, laid the foundation for a system of schools which, with some modifications, has persisted to the present day. The new instructors had to build upon the educational system which had existed prior to 1896. At that point public schools had consisted of mere ad-

³³ The only two historical references to soldiers acting as instructors in Pampanga do not suggest that the program was an important one: "History and Cultural Life of Minalin, Pampanga, Barrio Lourdes," HDP, p. 20; Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 2, 1964. The casual nature of the American military commitment to public education in general can be gleaned from the following:

Beyond the distribution, from the office of the artillery captain in Manila,—who gave, in addition to other duties, some attention to public instruction,—of school books, mostly in Spanish, to the value of about \$100,000 Mexican, practically nothing was done at the headquarters of military government in regard to schools [James LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), I, 287].

³⁴ *Manila Times*, September 3, 1901, p. 8.

juncts to the local Catholic church, run under the supervision of the parish priest. The system had been inadequate to begin with and the intervening years of unrest no doubt aided in further deterioration. The Americans faced a task of practically total reconstruction. New buildings had to be erected, school supplies obtained, native instructors trained in the English language and in new teaching methods, and the children induced to attend classes. Not the least problem was the necessity of winning the favor of local officials and such important residents as the parish priest. The Thomasites began, then, under extremely challenging circumstances.

Initial objectives of the colonial educators included the setting up of at least one primary school (grades I to IV) in each municipality. In some towns teachers began their classes in private homes, warehouses, or vacant buildings—a telling commentary on the pre-existing state of schooling in Pampanga. Classroom materials existed only in short supply and the teachers had to improvise. For example, one instructor used a char-blackened post as a substitute for a blackboard and another who had obtained real blackboards had to write on them with billiard cue chalk.³⁵

Problems did not end with the opening of classroom doors. Children had to be encouraged to go to school. In spite of laws making education compulsory, teachers found it necessary in some cases to win the good will of the community as well as to attract pupils. For the most reluctant pupils, arrangements were made to borrow policemen for service as truant officers.³⁶

³⁵ Philippine Islands, Bureau of Education, Letter of Luther Parker, Baguio, Mountain Province, May 23, 1913, to the Assistant Director of Education, Baguio; Letter of Carroll A. Peabody, Tarlac, August 7, 1913, to the Director of Education, Manila, both in "Personal Reminiscences of Early Days, 1898-1902," (unpublished MS in the National Library of the Philippines, Filipiniana Section, Manila, 1913).

³⁶ *Manila Times*, May 13, 1902, p. 7; Report of the Governor of Pampanga Province to the Philippine Commission for 1902, pp. 6-7; Interview with Mrs. Atancio Baluyot, Magalang, Pampanga, July 5, 1964; Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos; Interview with Mr. Ricardo Nepomuceno, Angeles, Pampanga, April 11, 1964; "Historical Data Regarding the Barrios in the Town of Santa Ana, Pampanga, Barrio San Jose," p. 1.

Even so, teachers complained that the onset of the harvest season seriously depleted their classrooms.³⁷ School attendance throughout the decade probably never totaled 50 percent of the school-age population; nonetheless, the number of students going to school increased each year (see Table 9).

Table 9.

AVERAGE ANNUAL ATTENDANCE AT PUBLIC SCHOOLS (PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE, AND SECONDARY GRADES) IN PAMPANGA, 1902-1910

Year	Attendance ^a	Estimated percent of total school-age population
1902	3,400	...
1903	"nearly 7,000"	...
1904/05	7,084	56 ^b
1905/06	...	...
1906/07	9,584	...
1907/08	11,235	25
1908/09	13,220	30
1909/10	13,526	31

^a Adjusted down by the Pampangan Department of Education from the annual enrollment figures to give a more accurate picture of monthly and daily attendance.

^b Probably too high.

Source: U.S. Philippine Commission, *Annual Report*, 1904, Pt. 3, p. 787; *ibid.* 1905, Pt. 1, p. 389; *ibid.* 1906, Pt. 1, p. 430; *ibid.* 1907, Pt. 1, p. 430; *ibid.* 1908, Pt. 1, p. 402; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 12; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, pp. 4-5.

Thus, after initiating public instruction in each town, the second task of the Americans was to train native instructors to meet the demands of the enlarging enrollment. Some of the earliest native teachers employed came from the old Spanish schools, the rest were selected by the Americans from the

³⁷ Interview with Mr. Pedro Pelayo, Angeles, Pampanga, June 14, 1964; U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903; *In Three Parts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Pt. 3, 789; Will M. Carruth Letterbook, LPC, p. 12.

brighter and more mature students.³⁸ These teachers had to be trained not only in the proper methods of instruction but also in English, the prescribed language for the entire school system. In the early years the provincial department of education created a teachers institute in San Fernando which ran between school semesters in February and March. All the native staff attended to be given instruction by the majority of the American teachers. For the institute of 1902, a total of 386 natives received lessons and partook in supervised teaching exercises under the guidance of 20 Americans.³⁹ For the rest of the year the institute was run by four Americans as a provincial school for a group of Pampangan teachers-in-training. Instruction for the other native teachers continued in the various municipalities. The Americans held classes for the children in the morning and ran what were called "local normals" for one hour each afternoon. Every day the Filipino teachers gathered in the central schools for further lessons in English and pedagogy.

Public instruction expanded through the introduction of primary schools in strategic barrios of each municipality. Native instructors staffed these new schools and became the assistant teachers in the central schools. Overall control of the various units in each municipality fell to the American supervising teachers, who were thus faced with growing administrative responsibilities as well as a full daytime teaching load. But educational duties did not end with these morning and afternoon assignments. In many towns the Americans also taught night time adult classes. Instruction here was mainly in English for various local officials and prominent citizens, to assist them in coping with the demands of the new colonial administration.⁴⁰ Hard work and sympathetic concern for the many different requirements of the community earned these first American teachers a

³⁸ Will M. Carruth, pp. 25, 49; Interview with Mrs. Atancio Baluyot; *The 1964 Masantol Yearbook* (Masantol, Pampanga: n.p., 1964), p. 51.

³⁹ *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*, Pt. 3, 788.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*; Interview with Mr. Alfredo Ganzon, Angeles, Pampanga, June 21, 1964.

place of respect in the local community, demonstrated by the extra offices they occasionally assumed, such as sanitary inspectors and advisors on matters of public health.⁴¹ At the same time, given the extent of their professional activities, it is unlikely that they had much time for socializing with the native population.

To keep pace with the more advanced educational needs generated by its new primary school system, Pampanga by 1905 had opened five intermediate schools (grades V to VII), along with the provincial school for normal training in San Fernando and two trade schools. The latter institutions, one in Bacolor and one in Apalit, required the time of seven American instructors, while the normal schools called for four more.⁴² The staffing of these more highly specialized schools came at the expense of the municipal primary schools for, though the demand for American teachers kept growing during the first decade of American rule, the supply stayed more or less constant (see Table 10).

Table 10.
NUMBER OF AMERICAN TEACHERS IN PAMPANGA, 1901-1910

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Comment</i>
1901	25	Includes Thomasites
1902	20	Minimum number possible
1904-05	27	18 male and 9 female
1905-06	38	
1906-07	27	
1907-08	28	4 provisional
1909	30	4 temporary
1910	26	2 temporary

Source: Annual reports of the governors of Pampanga, 1902-1911.

Except for the year 1905-1906 when there were thirty-eight teachers, the number remained between twenty-five and thirty.

⁴¹ *Manila Times*, May 13, 1902, p. 7.

⁴² Philippine Islands. Secretary of Public Instruction, *Compilation of School Reports, 1901-1905* (Manila: 1905) [Reprint of the Bureau of Public Schools, 1954], p. 921.

After 1905, the Americans moved into more specialized branches of education and administration, leaving native Filipinos to take over the primary schools. By the end of the decade the number of intermediate schools rose to eight and the provincial normal school was transformed into a regular high school. In 1910 the governor's report broke down the assignments of the twenty-four full-time American instructors this way: nine served as inspectors of the primary schools; eleven taught in the intermediate schools; three worked in the high school; and one instructed at the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades. The Americans had vacated the primary classrooms.

A significant aspect of this development was that the Americans no longer came into daily contact with the majority of the school children of Pampanga. Figures for attendance in 1910 indicate that of the 13,526 regularly in class, 12,794 belonged in the primary grades, beyond the immediate sway of the Americans. Only 665 intermediate and 67 secondary students studied any part of the time with nonnative teachers. These figures indicate to some degree the mitigation of American influence in Pampanga classrooms.

The above outline of the activities of the American teachers reveals, in a rather formal fashion only, their effect on provincial life. Fortunately, several left personal memoirs, in one form or another, of their days in Pampanga, which tell the story of American impact in a somewhat more dramatic fashion. These accounts add a human dimension otherwise missing in the official rendition of the growth of education in the years 1901 to 1910. The fullest and perhaps most informative one is a letterbook by Will M. Carruth, a young graduate of Cornell University from Cleveland, Ohio, who came to Pampanga with the first civilian volunteers.⁴³ His difficulties began almost im-

⁴³ Will M. Carruth, pp. 2, 14. This letterbook, found along with the other papers in the Parker Collection, presently is kept in the Rare Book Room of the University of the Philippines Main Library. The letters are all carbons of original correspondence on official matters sent out by Carruth. While the book contains no personal notes, the total collection offers many insights into the life of a teacher in Pampanga.

mediately after his arrival in Betis on September 13, 1901 to take up his assignment as an English teacher. In the office of the municipal president Carruth discovered that all the school texts he was supposed to use—the elementary geography, the history of the United States, and the arithmetic book—were in Spanish. In confusion, he wrote to the Department of Public Instruction in San Fernando for advice on what he should do.

During the following two weeks Carruth made a survey of the needs of his classroom and sent an urgent request for the most important books, offering to take any number of them that might be available, so great were the shortages. The primary school began to function on a regular basis by October and proved to be such a success in the community that Carruth began an adult night class in November with an enrollment that grew rapidly from thirteen to twenty-three. On November 20 he acknowledged receipt of the desperately needed supplies that he had rush-ordered almost two months earlier; the shipment had taken fifty-five days to make the forty-mile trip from Manila! By the end of November, then, Carruth's operation proceeded more smoothly with the acquisition of the required books. Attendance leveled off at about 105 students out of 161 enrolled for the classes. He received the services of a second native teacher, giving him one instructor for boys and one for girls. And then, just when everything was working out, Carruth became ill and lost at least one week of classes.

His next few letters offer some idea of the various responsibilities with which he had to cope while attending to his normal teaching duties. He wrote to the Division Superintendent of Schools informing him that he was available to teach geometry, algebra, and physics at the upcoming teachers institute program to be held in San Fernando in January (Carruth did not actually teach at one of these institutes until 1903). He had to advise the municipal council in Betis on various procedures for hiring new personnel and advise the division superintendent on council actions. In one case Carruth had to handle the delicate task of having the brother of the municipal president turned down for a post as assistant teacher while keeping up good relations

with the president. Carruth also had to make recommendations for positions on the Betis School Board. When his assistant teachers were absent, he had to fill in for them; one of them, Ambrosio de los Santos, took leave to attend all the meetings of the Betis Municipal Council. Finally, Carruth continued to run the daily hour of instruction for his assistant teachers as well as for another native teacher who commuted from neighboring Santa Rita.

A statistical look at Carruth's first year in Pampanga comes from his report on the first of March 1902. Regular attendance had dropped from 105 a few months earlier to 74; however, the school population was probably reduced temporarily by the demands of the harvest season. The native teaching staff had risen to three and Carruth's inventory of school supplies indicated that he had eliminated the shortages that had plagued him earlier. Through considerable effort, Carruth had manifestly made a good beginning for education in Betis.

But the major problem of the Betis school came outside the everyday classroom operation. This same report goes on to show that the town could not afford public education. Classes were held in one grass-walled building covering two not very large rooms; moreover, furniture consisted of uncomfortable benches and some desks, hardly adequate for the needs of the students. The poor facilities reflected the poverty of the municipality. Carruth estimated the cost of running the school for one year at \$216 while the town only took in \$110 in school taxes. This deficiency did not indicate bad relations between the school teacher and the town fathers; indeed, Carruth reported that, although he could not communicate very well with the municipal president who spoke neither English nor Spanish, he found the municipal secretary very cooperative. Also, the local parish priest supported the idea of a school and helped Carruth in his endeavors. The town simply could not maintain a school. Carruth conjures up a picture of Betis at the turn of the century that resembles the condition of the town today: a little way station on the road between Bacolor and Guagua, dwarfed and robbed of any importance by its larger neighbors. This

plight was confirmed in 1904 when Betis was attached as a barrio to the town of Guagua, never again returning to status as an independent municipality.

The division superintendent gave up the Betis project in 1902, and Carruth moved to Santa Rita. A letter of July 18 discloses that once again he had to begin the whole process of organizing a school. The problems ranged from finding competent native teachers to locating adequate and suitable furniture for the children. The night classes for twenty-five students started in early August. During his year in Santa Rita, Carruth spent a great deal of his time on purely administrative matters. He supervised two barrio schools in addition to the central primary school. The problem of selecting able native teachers from among the brighter students occupied much of his time. So numerous were his responsibilities that he considered asking for another American to come in and share the burden. It would appear that he could no longer balance the time between his teaching and other obligations.

At the end of his first semester in Santa Rita, Carruth went to teach for the first time at the teachers institute in San Fernando, returning later to finish out the year in Santa Rita. In October 1903 he again changed schools, this time moving to San Simon. The exact reason for this switch never emerges from any of his letters, but his first note from San Simon strongly suggests a plausible explanation. On October 21, 1903 he wrote to Division Superintendent of Education William A. Preuitt:

In reply to your communication regarding Zablan and the schools here, permit me to state first and foremost that the quicker Zablan is replaced by a competent man the better. . . . He is of no use here. I have talked with the two San Simon boys who are studying at the Provincial High Schools, and the better one, Cruz I believe his name is, (the one who studied for a time in Singapore) says he is willing to come here if appointed. I hope he (or some one else) will be as soon as possible. . . .⁴⁴

Carruth seems to have taken over in San Simon to straighten

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

out a messy situation aggravated by an incompetent local teacher. Further notes implied that other troubles originated with officials in the town. Carruth's administrative problems seem to have multiplied with each new assignment.

His attitudes and approach to the work appear to have undergone a transition as a result of all his administrative experiences. During his second and third years in Pampanga he seems to have developed a more coolly professional manner—still informal, yet more efficient and effective. His communications with other officials, more incisive than before, reveal a new competence and confidence in his work. Two letters on similar subjects written one and one-half years apart suggest the change in him. The first to Superintendent David Gibbs on July 15, 1902 states:

Dear Sir

In reply to your communication of July 16 that my June reports had not yet been received, I have the honor to state that my report for the teacher's class during June in Betis was forwarded by me to your office on June 21, and that owing to my transfer from Betis to Santa Rita, no other work was done during June by me.⁴⁵

The later note went to Provincial Treasurer Robert Shearer on December 3, 1903:

Dear Sir

I am holding up the School Accounts of San Simon for a few days to settle a small point with the Division Superintendent. Please pardon the delay which is not in any way due to the Municipal Treasurer of San Simon.⁴⁶

In three years Carruth had been transformed from a naive young teacher, fully involved in the affairs of the local community, to an efficient administrator and troubleshooter for the department of education. The metamorphosis had its price in terms of personal contact with the Pampangans. He met the natives increasingly in a professional capacity, unable to interact

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

freely with them. His plea for another American to assist him in Santa Rita may well have come because of his increasing isolation. He could not have been an effective supervisor and a personal friend as well.

In 1904 Carruth finished his three-year contract, which guaranteed him free passage back to the United States. For whatever reason, perhaps frustration with his many duties, or loneliness or homesickness, he had decided to return to graduate school in America. The last note in his letterbook was not without a touch of irony: this man who had served in so many capacities tendered his resignation as a teacher of English, a job for which he had had increasingly smaller amounts of time.

Carruth's experiences during his stay appear to have been more or less typical. Other American teachers may have stayed longer in one place during their first three years, but all faced the problem of multiple responsibilities, frustrating setbacks, and shortages of resources. Memoirs by two other Thomasites, Luther Parker and Carroll A. Peabody, tend to confirm, although in a much more sketchy fashion, Carruth's account of the early years.⁴⁷

Parker's importance to the historian goes far beyond his career in Pampanga's schools, for he took a keen interest in the people of the province and, on his own, collected valuable information on their background and customs. It was Parker who initiated and supervised the project of compiling a history for each municipality of the province, histories containing data on the Spanish period in Pampanga which is still valuable today. Parker had very limited training as an historian (he was a graduate of Chico Normal College in California); however, his historical instincts were sound. His own speculations on early Pampangan history came to very little, but he saved every type of material: photographs, old writings on pieces of bamboo, clippings from Pampangan newspapers, and such miscellaneous items as Carruth's letterbook. His own interests spanned many topics, in-

⁴⁷ Letters of Luther Parker and Carroll A. Peabody in "Personal Reminiscences."

cluding the customs of the Negritos living in the nearby Zambales Mountains.⁴⁸ His scholarly curiosity and energies put him in the same tradition as such outstanding Philippinists as James A. Robertson, James A. LeRoy, and H. Otley Beyer. If Parker's achievements did not measure up to those of others, it was for want of training rather than for lack of dedication to scientific inquiry.

Two features stand out in the story of American teachers' experiences in Pampanga. The first was their devotion to their duties and their spirit of sacrifice. For relatively little pay they accepted long hours of work under conditions of duress. Less than a year before the first teachers began their work in Pampanga, guerrilla insurgents still operated in the province. The records also reveal that at least two American instructors died of disease in the early years, one during a severe cholera epidemic in 1902. Yet, in spite of obstacles and frustrations, many teachers gave freely of their time and energy, taking on extra tasks to make the educational experiment a success.

Examples of their dedication abound. Alfred Arnold, a teacher in Arayat, ran special programs of entertainment at his school to interest native officials in public education. Kilmer O. Moe, from Hoople, North Dakota, personally assisted in the construction of the school in Magalang. When the school in Candaba burned down, supervising teacher G. N. Anderson contributed ₱500 of his own money for a new structure. While Luther Parker took a vacation in the States in 1908, he used part of his time for raising money for various purposes in Pampanga.⁴⁹ His extracurricular studies of the province represented

⁴⁸ For a brief account of Parker's scholarly activities and a sample of his writings, see Luther Parker, "Report on Work Among the Negritos of Pampanga During the Period from April 5th to May 31st, 1908," *Asian Studies*, II (April 1964), 105-130.

⁴⁹ On the dedication of American teachers in Pampanga see *Manila Times*, May 13, 1902, p. 7; April 13, 1907, p. 5; April 4, 1908, p. 2; *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez as *The Souvenir Program on the Founding Day of Magalang, December 13, 1863-December 13, 1954* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1954), p. 29.

another type of effort at enhancing the cultural life of Pampanga.

The second feature follows from the first. If the dedication of American teachers was apparent, their multiple organizational problems in the early years and their special responsibilities of the later years reduced their personal influence as representatives of American life. They no doubt earned the admiration of the local community, but they were simply too few and too overworked to effect change outside the classroom. Even there they had to turn over daily face-to-face contact with most of the students to the native teachers. The success of the American teachers as a force for change ultimately came to rest on the results produced by the educational system they labored so hard to perfect. The nature of those results will be discussed in the next chapter.

Other programs

To American officials, education was only one facet of the plan for fostering Philippine progress. Public works, public health, and law and order garnered as much attention as the school system. Yet, in contrast to the school teachers, the Americans involved in these other major colonial welfare programs in Pampanga were few in number and remained far more obscure in the eyes of the Pampangans and in the historical records. Almost none of the American engineers, public health officials, and constabulary officers are remembered today, and past documents fail to record much about them as individuals. Their names appear occasionally in government directives, bureau reports, and civil service rosters, but no personal memoirs have been preserved to provide insights into their public and private lives while working in the province. Evidence of their activities rests mainly in the reports of programs begun and carried out and in building projects completed.

At the turn of the century the most evident physical remains of three hundred years of Spanish colonialism were the Catholic churches and convents and the various municipal and provin-

cial government buildings. The Spaniards had left little in the way of substantial school buildings or public markets or all-weather roads in Pampanga, mostly because of their use of flimsy materials that did not withstand the depredations of age and the revolution. The American teachers, as already noted, had to begin their classes in private homes, warehouses, and any other available structures. Many of the local markets, made of flammable materials, posed a serious fire threat for the poblaciones of the province.⁵⁰ Roads tended to wash out frequently during the rainy season.⁵¹ Only the symbols of church and state, the mainstays of the Spanish colonial empire, were built to last.

When peaceful conditions returned to the province, repairing and rebuilding old facilities initially required much attention. The early governors' reports indicate that much of the funds spent for public works went to this end. The major intention from the beginning was to have the educational and transportation systems functioning effectively. American engineers, on loan from the army, supervised these early efforts. Working under the title of provincial supervisor, they managed to exert some control over which jobs were to be done.⁵² Yet, because of the low tax collections and the unwillingness of the central government to spend freely on public works, the range of projects possible remained limited.⁵³ The supervisors in the early years simply had to put off such important and new work as the construction of flood-control dikes along the Rio Grande de la Pampanga.

After 1905 the provincial supervisors came under the authority of the Bureau of Public Works in Manila. Throughout

⁵⁰ "History of Lubao," [handwritten], LPC, p. 22.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21; U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *A Pronouncing Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 734; *Manila Times*, May 10, 1902, p. 1; May 28, 1902, p. 7.

⁵² Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1902, pp. 2-3; *Manila Times*, May 10, 1902, p. 1.

⁵³ For the extremely low rate of taxation in the Philippines in general, and Pampanga in particular, see *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908*, Pt. 1, 79-80.

the rest of the decade Americans, under the title of district engineer, still oversaw all major public works in the province. Assisted by predominantly native staffs, these engineers looked after a wide range of projects—for example, the construction and repair of government buildings (especially for the new capital at San Fernando), the building of a series of new concrete public markets, the construction of a retaining wall at Apalit (still known as the Arnedo Dike), and the drilling of a large number of artesian wells.⁵⁴ These new works, made possible by freer government spending, went along with continual new school and road construction in the province.

Colonial policy toward public works stabilized around the middle of the decade. Decisions on projects and the funding for them came at two levels. Municipal councils took responsibility for initiating such local work as the building and repair of primary schools and town streets and bridges. Allocations of municipal taxes and substantial private contributions, often from local officials,⁵⁵ paid for these undertakings. Decisions pertaining to provincial roads, secondary and higher schools, government buildings, and other major projects were agreed upon by the provincial board and funded by money allotted from provincial taxes and by loans from the insular government. Changes in government policy made sums from the latter source more available in the years after 1905. Under the governorship of W. Cameron Forbes the commission developed a much less parsimonious attitude toward investing in public works.

⁵⁴ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 13; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, pp. 1–2, 7; Clemente Ocampo, "Datos historicos sobre el pueblo de San Fernando, cabecera de la Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 25; "History of Porac, 1772–1909," trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez (unnumbered pages), LPC [handwritten].

⁵⁵ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, p. 4; *Manila Times*, April 3, 1906, p. 6; February 18, 1906, p. 8; April 4, 1908, p. 2; *El Imparcial*, November 19, 1907, p. 1; November 21, 1907, p. 1; Casimiro Viray, "Historia del San Luis, de la provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas," LPC, p. 20; Lagman, p. 31; "History and Cultural Life of Minalin, Pampanga," p. 31; "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Santa Rita and Its Barrios," HDP, p. 4, Barrio San Vicente, p. 3.

The question may be raised as to the kind of influence American engineers exerted on the lives of the people of Pampanga under such circumstances. As individuals they may have perhaps had some effect on a face-to-face basis, but no record remains of such influence. Consistently these engineers served alone and for relatively short tours, a situation unlikely to give them extensive sway over Pampangan life. Moreover, they had little authority to determine the kinds of changes to be made in Pampanga. They stayed on the provincial board in a policy-initiating capacity for only a short period (from 1901 to 1905) and at a time when few funds existed for creative innovations. When finally the money became available, the engineers were already under the civil service and no longer in a decision-making position.

Nevertheless, the public works program carried out under the guidance of these American engineers represented a substantial achievement. Practically every poblacion had a new school building as did a number of barrios.⁵⁶ Public markets of concrete and galvanized metal were completed in at least eleven towns. Government buildings went up in the capital at San Fernando, and four municipalities received new town halls. New roads extended communications into some of the more rural barrios and made travel possible to all the municipalities throughout the year. The completion of the Arnedo Dike eliminated dangerous flooding in the ricelands along the Rio Grande.

As the Spaniards had left in concrete and stone the symbols of their main colonial interests, so too did the Americans. Schools, paved roads, permanent public markets, and protective dikes all stood as monuments to America's chief concerns, education and a better standard of living based on a moneyed economy.⁵⁷ Public works meant improving facilities to advance literacy and modern capitalism. The efforts and skills of the Ameri-

⁵⁶ Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 12.

⁵⁷ For a clear statement on the idea of public works yielding a profit see U.S. War Department, *Annual Reports 1912* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), Pt. 4, 64.



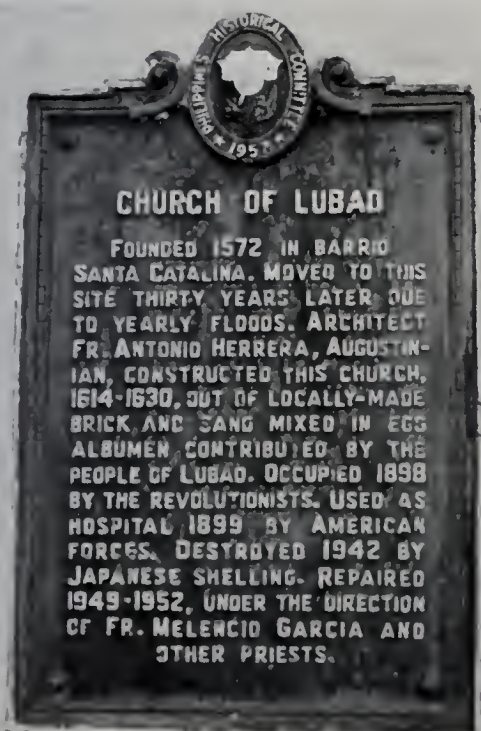
Negritos of Pampanga. Reprinted from Ramon Reyes Lala, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 81.



Church of Lubao. Courtesy of Mr. James Magavern.



Municipal Building of Angeles (ca. 1900). Field Museum of Natural History No. 24673.



Plaque on Church.
Courtesy of Mr. James
Magavern.



Angeles Marketplace (ca. 1910). Reprinted from Caroline S. Shunk, *An Army Woman in the Philippines*, p. 156.

Homes of San Fernando Elite
(ca. 1900). U.S. National
Archives No. 111-RB-2212.



Barrio Sapangbato, Angeles (ca. 1910). Reprinted from Caroline S. Shunk, *An Army Woman in the Philippines*, p. 93.



A black and white illustration of a woman in traditional Japanese attire. She is wearing a dark kimono with a patterned sash and a headband with a circular ornament. She is barefoot and standing in a field with tall grass in the background. She is holding a large, tiered wooden tub (kazaribaru) over a smaller pot (kama). She is looking down at the tub.

Alto Iran
Indiennos de Pampanga

30. Alto Man. de faja de Botet
Indiennos de Pampanga



Muscovado Sugar Mill in Pampanga (1900). U.S. National Archives No. 350-P-Ad-4-7.



Pampangan Woman in Native Costume (ca. 1810). Watercolor by Damian Domingo, courtesy of Filipinas Foundation and Dr. Carlos Quirino.



Filipino Students in Madrid (1890). Standing, *clockwise from left*: Vicente Francisco, Cajigas (an Annamese), Jose Abreu, Mariano Abella, Dr. Dominador Gomez, Dr. Francisco Liongson, Flaviano Cordecruz, a certain Tuazon from Malabon, Sp. Army Capt. Alejandro Yance de Lara, Lauro Dimayuga, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Gregorio Aguilera, Dr. Jose Rizal, Gen. Jose Alejandrino, Dr. Baldomero Roxas, Moises Salvador, Modesto Reyes, Gaudencio Juanengo, Pablo Rianzares Bautista; *seated, from left to right*: Dr. Santamaria, Candido Morada, Damaso Ponce, Dr. Ariston Bautista, Pedro Serrano Lactao, Gen. Teodoro Sandico. Reprinted, by permission of Jose Alejandrino, from Jose M. Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, p. 99.

Building a Train Bridge across the Rio Grande de la Pampanga in the Early 1890s. Reproduced from the collections of the Library of Congress.





Macabebe Scouts in the Employ of the Spanish Army during the Philippine Revolution. Reprinted from José de Olivares, *Our Islands and Their People as Seen with Camera and Pencil*, II.



Macabebe Scouts in American Uniform (ca. 1912). Reprinted from Frederick Chamberlin, *The Philippine Problem, 1898-1913*, p. 161.



Floridablanca Central School. U.S. National Archives No. 350-9-Ca-9-5.



Pampanga High School, San Fernando. U.S. National Archives
No. 350-P-Ca-19-6.



Governor Ceferino Joven. Reprinted from *Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903*, I, p. 30.



Senator Francisco Liongson. Reprinted, by permission, from Philippine Historical Association, *50 Years of Philippine Autonomy: The Golden Jubilee of the First Philippine Legislature, 1916-1966*, p. 21.



Governor Macario Arnedo. Personal collection of author.



Representative Eduardo Gutierrez David. Reprinted, by permission from Philippine Historical Association, *50 Years of Philippine Autonomy*, p. 40.



Representative Pedro Abad Santos. Reprinted, by permission, from Philippine Historical Association, *50 Years of Philippine Autonomy*, p. 40.



Barrio San Jose Tennis Club, San Fernando (ca. 1915). Among the members of prominent Pampangan families gathered here is Pedro Abad Santos, *back row center*, who later founded the Socialist party and was vice-chairman of the Communist party. Courtesy of the Honorable Quirino Abad Santos.



Pasudeco Sugar Central (1926). Reprinted, by permission of the Sugar News Press, from *Handbook of the Philippine Sugar Industry*, crop of 1926-27, p. 129.

can engineers eventually led to the planned results, though not without causing serious problems for Pampanga.

In one final area the engineers brought change to Pampanga; in this case, however, the result was much more immediate. The drilling of artesian wells in several municipalities began in 1906. The sudden creation of a good supply of clean water was followed by a spectacular drop in the incidence of disease, particularly cholera, in the areas served by the wells. Further drilling with further evidence of beneficial effects eventually encouraged provincial officials to buy their own drilling equipment.⁵⁸ Cholera never again reached serious epidemic proportions in Pampanga. In this achievement both public works and public health officials could take credit.

The matter of artesian wells belongs more properly in a discussion of developments in public health under the American regime. Probably in no other area of government services did natives pick up the initiative so quickly from the Americans. From very early in the days of civil government, Pampangan officials and professional men joined the provincial and municipal boards of health in order to improve local conditions. The willingness of Arnedo to support heavily the well-drilling program offers only one example of Pampangan enthusiasm to further health measures.

A number of good reasons account for this early and lively native participation. A very severe cholera outbreak in 1902 made obvious the need for preventive measures. The epidemic hit all the towns of the province, causing thousands of deaths.⁵⁹ Even today older Pampangans, if they recall nothing else of the history of their province, remember vividly the cholera outbreak of 1902. The desire to prevent any recurrence undoubtedly stimulated local interest in public health, and the immediate and highly visible results of a vigorous public health campaign surely

⁵⁸ *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908*, Pt. 1, 403.

⁵⁹ *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Pt. 2, 244.

served as an impetus, psychologically at least, to native participation. The Spaniards had undertaken little work of this sort. Disease ran rampant, as people drank mostly from the local rivers and from shallow, often polluted municipal wells.⁶⁰ The control of such epidemic diseases as cholera and smallpox by the remedial steps of boring new wells and vaccination had a special kind of appeal. Not only did these measures involve the saving of human life, but the good effects followed more easily and observably here than in either the education or public works programs.

And, finally, Pampanga could readily supply a goodly share of the needed personnel. The province already had available a number of doctors, medical students, and pharmacists to assume positions on local boards.⁶¹ The barrier of language proved less of an impediment in medical matters than in educational ones. Moreover, a shortage of American medical specialists existed. Public health services initially depended on army doctors and later on those physicians the government could attract to the Islands. Forbes claims that such people were scarce, as was money for public health work. Hence, the government found itself dependent on local personnel.

The work of creating a program of public health fell to a small group of American doctors, both military and civilian.⁶² They began the process of fighting epidemic diseases while organizing the provincial and municipal boards of health. Those that served as president of the provincial board concerned themselves with such diverse matters as garbage cleanup, toilets in the railroad stations, reserves of medical supplies, care of provincial prisoners, inspection of local pharmacies, autopsies, location of lepers and the insane, medical statistics, and animal diseases.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Pt. 2, 189.

⁶¹ *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, Pt. 1, 579-580.

⁶² *Manila Times*, August 13, 1902, p. 1; December 11, 1905, p. 2.

⁶³ For an excellent rendition of the multiple chores of the Americans serving as presidents of the provincial boards of health see *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, Pt. 2, 241-248.

While trying to teach the population the rudiments of public health, these overworked officials had to supervise an extensive vaccination program aimed at lowering the high incidence of smallpox in the province. Only with significant and enthusiastic support from influential Pampangans was any kind of success possible.

Fortunately, the Americans received that help from enlightened officials and professional men in the community. Dr. Francisco Liongson, a Spanish-trained physician prominent in medical and governmental circles, gave prestige to the program by serving as a member of the provincial board of health.⁶⁴ Governor Ceferino Joven lent the backing of his office to support the board in a dispute over the creation of new municipal cemeteries. During the cholera epidemic of 1902 he overrode the objections of the Bacolor parish priest and the opposition of municipal officials to burying victims of the disease away from the town in a new burial ground. By ignoring the priest, who had taken the serious step of imposing religious sanctions against the new cemetery, and actually suspending the reluctant officials, Joven gave real authority to the board and established the importance of their work.⁶⁵ After this incident, the location of cemeteries became a secular and not a religious matter.

The local boards began to function more effectively, too, particularly after 1904 when the heads of each were all people with some degree of medical experience. Doctor F. W. Dudley could report in that year that he had received excellent cooperation from most of the towns. A large number of municipal governments had already accepted a sanitary code of Dudley's devising, while others, following the lead of Bacolor, had laid out new burial grounds.⁶⁶

Efforts on behalf of public health paid off rapidly in Pam-

⁶⁴ *Manila Times*, January 12, 1902, p. 1.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1901, p. 8; August 27, 1901, p. 8; May 2, 1902, p. 1; May 7, 1902, p. 8.

⁶⁶ *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Pt. 2, 243; Betis Notebook, p. 30; Bacolor Notebook; San Luis Notebook, p. 16; Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 28-29.

panga, and the American doctors could take pride in their achievements. The continual program of mass vaccination had led first to a sharp reduction and, shortly thereafter, to a complete eradication of smallpox.⁶⁷ The elimination of polluted water together with other measures designed to prevent cholera improved conditions so that the incidence of the disease never again approached the proportions of 1902. The governor's reports from the middle of the decade on indicate a wholly new attitude toward disease prevention. In the case of public health the American message clearly reached the municipal level. The shortage of physicians and the prevalence of native superstition meant that herbologists and other quack practitioners still found a clientele in the province,⁶⁸ but more and more Pampangans drank their water from newly dug artesian wells.

After 1905 public health work became totally a Filipino responsibility. Under governmental reorganization, district health officers working for the newly created Bureau of Health took over the duties formerly exercised by the president of the provincial board. The new officers, almost all natives of the Islands, appear to have perpetuated the same notions as their American predecessors, though they may not have enjoyed the same prestige and authority. In 1907, District Health Officer Jose Maxcunana had to use the expedient of writing a letter in the local newspaper in San Fernando in order to encourage the city council to act on the sale of adulterated milk in the market.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the prevailing attitude toward public health, fostered by the Americans, did not change. Well-drilling and the vaccination campaign went on as before. The provincial government also participated in the program of sending lepers for treatment to

⁶⁷ Philippine Islands, Board of Health, *Monthly Report of the Board of Health of the Philippine Islands and the City of Manila* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1904), August, 1904, p. 3; December, 1904, p. 4; *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, Pt. 1, 389; *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, Pt. 1, 414.

⁶⁸ *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, Pt. 2, 243-244.

⁶⁹ *El Imparcial*, November 19, 1907, p. 1.

the colony at Culion Island. By the end of 1909 Pampanga was reported free from Hanson's disease.⁷⁰

The success of the public health campaign, largely the result of local effort, argues against any notion of a generalized native resistance to technical progress. Where good results can be convincingly demonstrated, people of a rural community may well respond positively to change. American officials could certainly have used the example of native efforts in public health to justify turning over greater leadership responsibility.

Two agencies shared the job of maintaining law and order in Pampanga during the American period. The first was the municipal police, raised from the local population and subject to the will of the municipal government. In 1905 the provincial government created uniform standards of rank, dress, and pay for the various municipal units.⁷¹ This force took care of the general run of local crime from petty thievery, vagrancy, and disturbing the peace to the more serious matters of assault, rape, and manslaughter. The effectiveness of these officers seems to have varied from town to town and depended to some extent on the kind of supervision they received. In general, the local police did not enjoy a good reputation. Their inefficiency and neglect in several towns earned them official rebuke and, in at least one case, suspension.⁷²

The second agency of law enforcement, the Philippine Constabulary, represented the insular government at the local level. In Pampanga this group varied over the decade from 100 to 150 men⁷³ who concerned themselves with intermunicipal affairs covering every kind of activity from guarding money shipments

⁷⁰ Philippine Islands, Bureau of Health, *Quarterly Report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), Fourth Quarter, 1909, p. 33.

⁷¹ *Sixth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, Pt. 1, 391.

⁷² *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, Pt. 1, 578; *Manila Times*, November 9, 1908, p. 4.

⁷³ *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Pt. 3, 69; Philippine Islands, Philippine Constabulary, *Annual Report of the Director of Constabulary, 1908-1909* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), p. 19.

and enforcing quarantine regulations to suppressing gangs of outlaws and insurrections. The general purpose of the constabulary was to serve as the enforcement arm of the civilian government, acting as a combination state police and FBI. The lower ranks were filled with Filipino troops, including some of the older professional units such as the Macabebe mercenaries. Officers, initially at least, came from the U.S. Army, which sent its own commissioned and noncommissioned officers on detached duty. By the end of the decade the upper ranks also included Filipinos and foreign mercenaries; still, the largest number of officers were Americans.⁷⁴

The senior inspector of constabulary, the highest ranking officer in Pampanga, not only had to perform his duties of law enforcement but, along with his three or four assistants, had to maintain good relations with the provincial authorities. In the years 1901 to 1910 the various officers in Pampanga seem to have done their jobs well, for no governor's report in any way criticized the constabulary. Indeed, Governor Arnedo's comments for the report of 1907-1908 appear to sum up local opinion:

The general services rendered by the Philippine Constabulary, whose commander and officers have always and in all cases acted in accord with the local authorities, municipal and provincial, have also greatly contributed to the preservation of order and tranquility.⁷⁵

The general crime statistics for the decade indicate that, by Philippine standards, Pampanga was a safe place to live.⁷⁶ The

⁷⁴ The names of officers serving in Pampanga can be found in the annual reports of the Director of Constabulary for the years 1906 to 1911. A thumbnail biography of each of them can be found in Harold H. Elarth, (ed.), *The Story of the Philippine Constabulary* (Los Angeles: Philippine Constabulary Officers Association, 1949), pp. 152-185.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1908*, Pt. 1, 402.

⁷⁶ Ignacio Villamor, *Criminality in the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1909), pp. 15-46. In the five-year period between 1903 and 1908 there were only 246 convictions (approximately 49 per year) in the Pampanga Court of First Instance. Offenses ranged from crimes against public morals to murder. This crime rate placed Pampanga about average on the scale of criminality for the Philippine Islands as a whole.

few unusual incidents were all handled efficiently, effectively, and quickly. After the years of revolution, this era of peace undoubtedly made the Pampangans appreciative of the services of the constabulary and its small corps of American officers.

American society in Pampanga

Fathoming the nature of social relations between Americans and Pampangans is a far more difficult task than recording the official achievements and failures of administrators and civil servants. The existing sources are much less explicit about the social aspects of American rule but, because the transferral of American values, in part at least, depended upon effective personal communication, some discussion of this inherently complex subject becomes necessary. The total sample of references does convey a general impression of how the Americans and their native charges reacted to each other, though admittedly the picture suffers from a lack of detail. With some exceptions, intimate personal relations, mutual social interests, and general camaraderie remained within each of the two communities. Formal relations tended to characterize the interaction between the two groups, no matter at which level of society it took place.

Predictably, the highest social circles had the most ceremonious code of behavior and to a degree set the pattern for the rest of society. The appropriate response to a visit by a dignitary from Manila or abroad was a very elaborate reception planned by leading government figures and hosts of the province. Such a tradition, born in Spanish times, was reestablished early in the American period when, in 1900, Mrs. Edith Moses, wife of a member of the Taft Commission, made a visit to Apalit.⁷⁷ Her initial reception committee consisted of, in addition to her American doctor host, the *presidente* (formerly called the *gobernadorcillo*), the parish priest, and the local schoolmaster. The three-day stay included a continual round of

⁷⁷ She herself tells the story of her visit in Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife* (New York: D. Appleton, 1908), pp. 51-69.

serenades, dinners, and balls, with Mrs. Moses as the guest of honor. Appropriately, the home of the late Captain Joaquin Arnedo Cruz in barrio Sulipan, Apalit, provided the setting for one of the receptions. The children and grandchildren of this famous local host of Russian royalty received and entertained the wife of an important official of the new order in the same grand style.

Such entertaining became ritual over the course of the decade. When Secretary of War Taft made an unscheduled visit to San Fernando in 1904, he gave the surprised residents little opportunity to plan a banquet in his honor. With short notice, the officials of the town could only manage a hastily erected pavilion for a banquet of two hundred people!⁷⁸ On the other hand, in 1908, the family of newly elected Philippine Assemblyman Monico Mercado of Sexmoan had ample time to prepare an elaborate weekend for Governor General James Smith, his wife and their party.⁷⁹ Hospitality in these cases had a kind of semi-official function. Not only did such affairs facilitate communication between levels of government but they lent prestige to the host and host community. The receptions had about as much spontaneity as the congratulatory telegrams that passed back and forth between successful candidates at election time.⁸⁰ Governor Smith's visit was in part occasioned by the necessity for covering up an embarrassing situation that had occurred two months earlier on a surprise inspection of the province. During that visit Smith had come upon glaring laxity among the Guagua municipal police, which turned out to be a public source of embarrassment to provincial officials.⁸¹ The second visit, in a sense, publicly affirmed that good relations had been restored between Pampanga and the insular government.

⁷⁸ Ocampo, p. 24.

⁷⁹ *Manila Times*, December 12, 1908, p. 1. For an example of a similar type of affair involving Governor-General Forbes see *ibid.*, July 19, 1910, p. 4.

⁸⁰ See, for example, BIA, 2764-12.

⁸¹ *Manila Times*, November 9, 1908, p. 4. Smith's surprise inspection obviously comes in the wake of the Trotter affair, which will be discussed in a few pages.

This kind of official occasion carried over to the provincial level as well. At the opening of new roads and public buildings, leading representatives of both communities participated in the festivities. For example, at the grand reopening of the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades in 1907, the guest speakers included Dr. Liongson, ex-Governor Ceferino Joven, and Acting Director of Education G. N. Brink.⁸² Members of the native elite and the American community attended the ball that followed these ceremonies. Public affairs, usually connected in some way with government business, provided the occasion for formal social interaction.

At another level, much of the relations between American and lower-class Pampangans fell into the master-servant context. The problem of maintaining the proper attitude toward the help occupied the attention of most American wives who set up housekeeping in the province. At best, one finds a kind of solicitous, really patronizing, attitude developed toward the "houseboys" (often grown men) and laundrywomen and cooks; at worst, the feelings were ones of distrust and frustration with the servants' presumed laziness and inefficiency.⁸³ Such behavior by the Americans could scarcely have encouraged a change toward acceptance of more democratic and egalitarian values among the peasants.

For the rest, the Americans and members of the native elite tacitly maintained a distance from each other. The few extant issues of the Pampangan provincial newspapers *El Imparcial* and *Ing Emangabiran* suggest that the two groups stayed among their own kind. By and large the Americans had their own social functions and interests, which, at most, only peripherally involved the Pampangans. The Americans kept up with affairs at home; in 1908 they sent their local representatives to the Insular Republican Convention in Manila.⁸⁴ That same year

⁸² *Ibid.*, March 23, 1907, p. 4; March 27, 1907, p. 5. A celebration with the same format occurred at the time of the transfer of the capital from Bacolor to San Fernando. See *ibid.*, August 17, 1904, p. 6.

⁸³ Moses, pp. 59-60.

⁸⁴ *Manila Times*, January 20, 1908, p. 3.

the Americans, with only a little help from the townspeople of San Fernando, conducted the election of the carnival queen to represent the province at the annual affair in Manila.⁸⁵ Few natives of either class became involved. At the wedding of two American teachers of the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades that year no prominent Pampangans attended.⁸⁶

The largest American community in Pampanga, the members of the army stationed at Fort Stotsenberg (the present site also of Clark Air Force Base) in the town of Angeles, were perhaps the most separate of all. Even as they do today, the soldiers and their families, for the most part, lived off by themselves in the military reserve, occasionally serving as an irritant to the people of the town. The soldiers had their own bars, prostitute areas, and other establishments which they frequented and had little else to do with local people.⁸⁷ Apparently the wives of the higher ranking officers paid lip service to the social amenities by leaving calling cards at the homes of the presidente and parish priest.⁸⁸ No other form of contact seems to have occurred.

This isolation of the Americans from the Pampangans undoubtedly had its origins in many exigencies of the colonial relationship and in the prevailing sense of superiority that went along with Western imperialism. Indeed, the sources reveal several samples of the kind of paternalism one associates with the White Man's Burden.⁸⁹ Surely the daily frustrations of colonial service and the unwillingness of the natives to forego easily many of their traditional ways for American styles and manners combined to provoke the kind of annoyance, and in a way bewilderment, that led to the following statement in the *Manila Times* from an anonymous official stationed in Bacolor:

⁸⁵ *El Imparcial*, December 24, 1907, p. 1.

⁸⁶ *Manila Times*, August 17, 1908, p. 5.

⁸⁷ Interview with Mr. Ricardo Nepomuceno.

⁸⁸ Caroline S. Shunk, *An Army Woman in the Philippines* (Kansas City, Mo.: Franklin Hudson, 1914), p. 72.

⁸⁹ See, for example, *Manila Times*, December 3, 1903, p. 4. The article contains disparaging and, at the same time, patronizing comments about the way the Pampangans would presumably manipulate voting in an upcoming election.

We continually hear the cry from Manila that the natives and Americans are drifting apart. Why?

Because Americans as a body, having been here long enough to grasp the truth have about sized the native up at his real worth, and are not being fooled by appearances any more.

The natives complain that the Americans are beginning to view them as the Spanish did.

This is inevitable, because the native had been sized up by the civilized Spaniard at about his real worth under Spanish rule, and now after seven years of American rule, he has been sized up by the Americans at his real worth also.

You in Manila, who have the choice of the archipelago to pick from and plenty waiting for the good-paying places under your direction, have not grasped the problem of the Americans who are dealing with the milk, whereas you deal with the cream.

You will be able to make a little butter from yours but we can only get curds by whipping ours.

You cry all the time: 'Give the natives a chance,' but those Americans who have been dealing with the masses and not the exceptional ones of this nation, know just what that phrase means . . .

Well, at what do you want to give the native a chance?

'Why, to-to-to work,' you will say.

Those of us who have seen him gallop off for the 'bosque' when we mentioned giving him such a chance to work and have never been able to get in whistling distance since, can't appreciate your point of view.⁹⁰

In the face of such a reaction, the development of a sense of separation is certainly not surprising.

Pampangans, for their part, had few incentives to interact at a personal level with members of the American colony. In addition to American aloofness, other frictions of the colonial experience must have grated upon native feelings. American officials received higher pay than their native counterparts.⁹¹ The location of the base at Fort Stotsenberg involved a number of extended lawsuits over the presumed unfair acquisition of

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, August 7, 1905, p. 4.

⁹¹ *Official Roster*, 1908, pp. 104-105.

private land by the insular government.⁹² Health precautions, such as the destruction of disease-bearing animals, provided Pampangan farmers with sources of irritation at their colonial master. Interference in the daily life of all Pampangans increased in the American period and undoubtedly raised the level of tension between the governors and the governed.

More importantly, how, other than by withdrawing, could the proud members of Pampanga's elite have reacted to the grossness and naiveté of often barbarous American comment? Narration of one such incident may help characterize this situation. On Thanksgiving Day 1901, two companies of the American Third Infantry put on a minstrel show to which were invited members of the native elite. The following passage appeared a few days later in the *Manila Times*, the most widely circulated newspaper in the Philippines:

The audience [for the show] was a mixed one—Filipino and American. . . . the most advanced of the [Filipinos], intellectually, physically and morally, graced the ball with their picturesque appearance . . . The box in the rear [of where the Americans were sitting] was occupied by the very pick of the native upper caste of Bacolor—the Macapinlacs—and a bevy of attractive brown beauties. It was a pleasure to look at them, and study the effect of American acting on their simple, aboriginal minds.⁹³

A member of the Macapinlac family had served as a delegate to the Malolos Congress and later as a judge of the court of first instance under the American regime. Could he have responded favorably to such a reference in the public press? Similarly, as the years went on, American reporters would write stories about long-bonded house servants and call them exposés of slavery in Pampanga.⁹⁴ Clearly, this level of communication between Americans and Pampangans could scarcely have led to greater interaction.

Only in a few instances did Pampangans and Americans

⁹² *Manila Times*, June 4, 1913, p. 1.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1901, p. 2.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, April 4, 1902, p. 8; August 7, 1905, p. 4.

cross the seeming gulf that separated them. Two recorded cases of intermarriage exist for the first decade and, in their own way, each case turns out to be the exception that proves the rule. The *Manila Times* of July 20, 1903 announced the marriage of Dr. Henry Pick, a civilian contract surgeon with the U.S. Army, and Miss Maria Buencamino, daughter of Attorney Felipe Buencamino and granddaughter of Don Joaquin Arnedo Cruz, barrio Sulipan, Apalit. The marriage took place in the ancestral home in Apalit, but Miss Buencamino could scarcely be considered a member of the local community. Her father was a Tagalog, prominent in the government, and she and her husband belonged to Manila society. Only in a very peripheral way did the wedding of these two Island socialites relate to Pampangan-American relations.

The other case more properly belongs to Pampangan affairs. In 1902 Doña Juana de Castro y Lising of Guagua married Mr. Charles Trotter of Charlotte, New York.⁹⁵ Little information exists on Trotter relating to his background, only that he must have been popular among the Americans, who elected him one of the two delegates representing Pampanga at the Insular Republican Convention in 1908.⁹⁶ What occupation he pursued remains cloudy. He appears not to have been a member of the government service, and his only known work was managing his wife's rather extensive property.⁹⁷

Trotter's significance here rests not in the fact that he provides a rare example of a bridge with native society but rather for what the events surrounding his death reveal about American reactions to and relations with the people of Pampanga. In late 1907, Trotter, somewhat of a financial adventurer at least, became involved in an arrangement to cut timber on lands recently inherited by his wife from her deceased father. Trotter and his new partner, Vincente Toledo of Bataan, set about chasing off these timberlands in Floridablanca local planters

⁹⁵ PNA, *Protocolo* No. 1947, pp. 164-167.

⁹⁶ *Manila Times*, January 20, 1908, p. 3.

⁹⁷ PNA, *Notarial Register* 7098, pp. 48-53.

who had used the wood for years for boiling their sugar cane. The loss of access to these woods caused a real hardship for the farmers. On October 7th, 1908 the situation reached a crisis. Trotter and Toledo were brutally killed by Julio Vitug, the son of a prominent local family, and a group of woodcutters in his employ. A fairly efficient and thorough investigation by the Philippine Constabulary quickly discovered the murderers and the causes of the crime. Arrests followed. In due course, Julio Vitug and his accomplices went to trial and received the death sentence or long terms in prison. The whole affair had been a private squabble ultimately handled quite properly through the legal system.⁹⁸

Response to the Trotter affair by members of the American community casts an interesting light on their own feelings about their position in the province and their attitude toward the Pampangans. Wild rumors began to circulate immediately. One story had it that a Katipunan triangle had been carved into Trotter's forehead,⁹⁹ thus linking his murder to the old and by then defunct revolutionary organization. By another account, the Philippine Constabulary in the province had been massacred, obviously as a prelude to a general uprising.¹⁰⁰ And a final rumor persisted that the provincial fiscal, Veloso, was in collusion with the family of the murderer and, for that reason,

⁹⁸ The facts of the Trotter affair emerge from a number of versions. The fullest and seemingly the most unbiased account is given by Assemblyman Monico Mercado to Governor-General Smith and is published in the *Cablenews-American*, October 13, 1908, pp. 1, 5. For other versions and the follow-up, see *ibid.*, December 16, 1908, p. 1; *Manila Times*, October 9, 1908, p. 1; October 15, 1908, p. 2; *El Imparcial*, April 27, 1909, p. 1; December 15, 1909, p. 1; *Annual Report of the Director of Constabulary, 1908-1909*, p. 5.

⁹⁹ *Manila Times*, October 12, 1908, p. 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1908, p. 1. The fear of a native uprising seems to have plagued Americans living in or concerned with the Pampanga area. Any unusual movement was interpreted as the prelude to some more serious disturbance. See, for example, the letter from Major General William P. Duvall, Commanding General, Philippine Division, Manila, October 10, 1910, to "superior authority," U.S. National Archives, War Department Section, Record 1562452 A7, 1562452 A8.

the former had not shown up at the scene of the crime until much later¹⁰¹—clear proof that the people of the province would willingly obstruct justice to protect one of their own. All these stories soon proved to be entirely false.

After the failure of succeeding events to confirm any of these suspicions, the Americans settled upon a longer range plan to protect themselves in the event of a similar emergency in the future. On November 16, 1908, they met in San Fernando to set up the Good Government League of Pampanga, the aims of which appeared in this statement from its constitution:

The primary purpose of this organization is to assist in all honorable dignified and legal ways the constituted authorities of the United States in the Philippine Islands, to preserve order, save life, secure justice, and insure good government by maintaining proper sanitary and civic conditions throughout the islands, by organization, co-operation and publicity, and, in great emergencies, to do what is necessary, until the proper authorities are able to handle the situation, through regular channels without assistance.

The secondary purpose is to assist each other when in difficulty, financial or otherwise, and to keep alive a high civic spirit among Americans in the Philippines.¹⁰²

In the face of crisis, or even presumed crisis, the Americans followed their first instincts and herded together. Their primary allegiance was to each other, even though their fears also had been shared by natives of the province. The response under seemingly dire circumstances showed the real basis for interaction, and the Americans displayed for all to see their basic preference for their own kind. The latent fears behind the rumors prove particularly revealing. In spite of their dedication as civil servants, in spite of their almost daily contact with the Pampangans, they never seemed to overcome their sense of strangeness and vulnerability when out in the province. Such feeling must certainly have inhibited communication between the two communities.

¹⁰¹ *Cablenews-American*, October 11, 1908, p. 1.

¹⁰² *Manila Times*, November 19, 1908, p. 2.

By general colonial standards, the Americans created an enviable record of achievement in Pampanga. Yet certain handicaps limited their ultimate effectiveness as forces of change. They constantly found themselves overworked and as a result gave over to others many of their opportunities to influence change. Decision-making and the operation of programs of colonial welfare fell increasingly upon local shoulders and thus became subject to the native allegiance to the status quo. Also, the colonialists might have exerted greater influence upon Pampangan life had their official roles, and in some cases their private notions, not inhibited relations with the Pampangans. A wide social gulf appears to have separated the two societies. Whatever influence the Americans exerted came about indirectly and secondarily through conditions created or through the direct initiative of Pampangans responding positively to the new regime.

La Sociedad "Fraternidad de Pampanga" has issued invitations for its inaugural fiesta, to be held at the provincial high school, San Fernando, Pampanga, this evening at 8:30 o'clock . . . After the banquet there will be a grand ball.

Manila Times, December 5, 1908

7

Decade of Adjustment

AS PAMPANGA moved out of the more slowly paced Spanish nineteenth century into the faster moving American twentieth century from 1901 to 1910, and as the turmoil of revolutionary times subsided, the Pampangan elite learned a new style of politics and increased their contacts with their counterparts in other provinces. A lingering agricultural depression retarded economic progress, and farmers waited for the new regime to solve their problems. The lower class benefited least from American colonial policy. Peasants could not take advantage of programs that centered in the poblaciones far from their own remote barrios. Tensions began to rise as tenant farmers found themselves left behind in Pampanga's movement toward a more modern, Western orientation.

Postrevolutionary reactions

Vestiges of the revolution followed Pampanga into the new era. So momentous an upheaval could not be forgotten quickly and the political ill will, like the physical damage, needed time to mend. Nevertheless, considering the extent of the conflict,

it was to the credit of the provincial elite and the representatives of the colonial government that the return to normalcy came fairly rapidly.

Serving as a reminder that the last phases of the war had entailed guerrilla fighting, isolated acts of terror and brigandage by unreconstructed insurrectionists persisted into the early years of the new century. In August 1901, two principals from Mexico were buried alive because of their collaboration with the Americans.¹ For part of 1902, Juan Balbuena, formerly of Aguinaldo's army, headed a group of desperadoes in the vicinity of Guagua. His apparent attempts to rekindle the revolutionary fires came to little, and his career ended violently at the hands of the constabulary.² Less than a year later another attempt to filibuster in the Guagua area, this time by a Tagalog named Arturo Baldello, suffered the same fate.³ The most important individual troublemaker was Felipe Salvador, an ex-colonel who, though jailed briefly for sedition in 1902, escaped and plagued the peace of Central Luzon, including Pampanga, for almost a decade. His activities involved more than mere banditry and will be discussed in another context later.

Perhaps the most organized effort at revival of revolutionary activities took place in Mexico during April 1903. A number of members of the Pampangan elite sought to create a paramilitary movement called the "Universal Democratic Filipino Republic."⁴ This group possessed distinct ties with the revolu-

¹ *Manila Times*, August 4, 1901, p. 1.

² Report of the Governor of Pampanga Province to the Philippine Commission for 1902, pp. 1-2.

³ U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903: In Three Parts* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), Pt. 3, 69; U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), Pt. 1, 578; Luis Boluyut, "Guagua and Some of Its Events," LPC, pp. 1-2; Felino Sempao, "Municipio de Guagua, Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 4.

⁴ The story of this movement and its background comes from the following sources: *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1903*, Pt. 3; *Fifth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1904*, Pt.

tionary past. One of its chief founders, Manuel Ruiz, was a Spanish turncoat who had taken up the cause of the Philippine Republic. He had married Leonor de Leon y Hizon, a relative of General Maximino Hizon, the highest ranking Pampangan officer in the revolutionary army. She herself had spent time as a prisoner of war for supporting the cause and had been released only late in 1901. Another instigator, Benito Vergara, was related to Simeon Vergara, Municipal President of Mexico under the Philippine Republic. The organization also attracted outsiders from Manila and elsewhere, including Mariano Llanara from Nueva Ecija, who had once served as Aguinaldo's chief for Central Luzon. The movement leaders, when finally uncovered by the constabulary, had in their possession a number of commissions which they proposed to tender to officers of their newly formed army. Constabulary interference eventually led to the prosecution, conviction, and imprisonment of a majority of the leaders. Only a few escaped by leaving the country.

These various incidents, however, belie the generally peaceful nature of the province in the postwar period. Practically all the elite rejected the violent activity of the preceding years and cooperated with the new regime. Many of them accepted government appointments and served in various capacities such as president of the provincial board of health, fiscal, and justice of the peace in the municipalities. The exemplary case of Enrique Macapinlac, once a representative to the Malolos Congress and later a judge of the American-sponsored court of first instance, has already been mentioned. Indeed, many of those who had served most actively in the revolutionary period tended to fade into relative obscurity afterward, often denied status and public office by their own people. Jose Alejandrino, who had been the foremost patriot of the province, worked for less

1, 578-579; Domingo C. Salita, "Land Use in the Province of Pampanga" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1958), p. 43; Evaristo Esguerra, "Notebook: List of the Presidentes of Mexico, 1762-1910," LPC; *Manila Times*, August 11, 1901, p. 3; April 8, 1903, p. 1; April 15, 1903, p. 4; April 23, 1903, p. 1.

than a year with the city government in Manila before retiring to Arayat and a quiet life. His attempts to run for office in 1916, 1919, and 1922 all ended in failure.⁵

Many people in Pampanga chose to keep alive the spirit of the revolution in more peaceful ways. The power of the Catholic Church, one of the prime rebel targets, seemed to have diminished somewhat after the war. The absence of the Spanish friars and the lack of government backing only partially explain this diminution in church influence. The decision (discussed in the preceding chapter) of Governor Joven to override the Bacolor parish priest's opposition to a municipal cemetery represented a pointed step by an official toward a new and clear distinction between the roles of church and state in Pampanga.⁶ The proliferation of municipal cemeteries elsewhere in the province suggested that the message was not lost on other native administrators. The enthusiastic support of many members of the elite for the spread of public education further demonstrated their willingness, perhaps even eagerness, to draw a sharp line between religious and governmental responsibility.

As a more overt form of dissent, several thousand Pampangans rejected the Catholic Church completely and joined the Philippine Independent Church (the Aglipayan Movement)

⁵ BIA, 1184-49; *Manila Times*, August 29, 1901, p. 1; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 6, 1916, p. 1, October 29, 1919, p. 4; Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, trans. Jose M. Alejandrino (Manila: M. Colcol, 1949), pp. 207-208.

⁶ The editors of the *Manila Times* realized that the cemetery question centered on the issue of church versus state. They entitled their first article on the subject [August 20, 1901, p. 8] "Ecclesiastical Antagonism in Pampanga." See also *ibid.*, May 2, 1902, p. 1. Bacolor was an appropriate place to begin the battle since the town had a reputation, going back to at least 1888, of being anti-church [Carlos Quirino, *The Young Aguinaldo* (Manila: Regal Printing, 1969), p. 33]. Joven, moreover, had ample personal reasons for leading a campaign against church power. Back in the 1890s he had joined the Manila Lodge Nilad of the Philippine Masons. In 1892 these Masonic connections led to his harassment and denouncement by the Spanish authorities. The Spanish provincial governor even sought to have Joven deported [Teodoro M. Kalaw, *Philippine Masonry*, trans. Frederic H. Stevens and Antonio Amechazurra (Manila: McCullough Printing, 1956), pp. 49-50, 111].

or one of several Protestant sects introduced by American missionaries. Although these dissidents remained a minority, reaching as late as 1918 scarcely 5 percent of the population, they did manage to form in several towns a significant force.⁷ In at least two instances they clashed seriously with members of the Catholic establishment. Riots between Protestants and Catholics at Candaba in 1906 ended in shooting, although ultimately no one was killed.⁸ In late 1912 the Roman Catholic parish priest of Mexico found himself embroiled in a complex legal battle with the Aglipayan group of that town, and the *Manila Times* stated that the root cause of his persecution was his avid loyalty to Spain during the revolution.⁹

In a somewhat more secular vein, many Pampangans joined

⁷ The census of 1918 gives the first figures on those belonging to the dissenting sects. In the case of the Aglipayans, the numbers may well represent a fairly accurate estimate of church membership during the first decade of American rule since, in most areas of the Philippines, Aglipayanism ceased to expand after the sect lost many of its parishes to the Catholics in 1906 [Bonifacio Salamanca, *The Philippine Reaction to American Rule 1901-1913* (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1968), pp. 105-106]. For the Protestants, the greatest growth probably occurred in the second decade as American missionaries became more numerous and more experienced at working in the lowland areas. In San Fernando, e.g. the Methodists did not have a church before 1913 [Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 2, 1964].

Total church membership % of provincial population (1918 = 256,058)		Aglipayans 7847 3%		Protestants 4971 2%	
Towns with sig. nos. of non-Catholics		Aglipayans		Protestants	
		% of town pop.		% of town pop.	
Arayat	997	8		210	
Bacolor	1,619	11		281	
Guagua	1,802	11		1,082	
Lubao	1,794	8		452	
Magalang	261	3		133	
Mexico	1,086	7		1,209	
San Fernando	120	0.6		600	

[Census, 1918, II, 424-425].

⁸ Candaba Notebook.
⁹ *Manila Times*, December 20, 1912, p. 5.

with other Filipino groups in paying homage to the memory of Jose Rizal, the martyred intellectual who had emerged as the most revered of the heroes of the revolutionary days. Elite groups in the various towns of the province organized elaborate annual celebrations in honor of his death at the hands of the Spaniards.¹⁰ Thus the Pampangans, who had by and large played a rather minor role in the actual drama of the revolution, began to contribute in their own way to the growing sense of Filipino identity that followed the days of open combat.

Ironically, the elite managed without great difficulty to incorporate the ideas and symbols of the anti-Hispanic revolutionary past into their own ongoing Hispanic cultural traditions. The Americans, for various reasons connected with the nature of their administration, had certainly failed to alter significantly the cultural orientation of the principalia class. Spanish continued into the first decade as the prestige language, its use providing a major source of class distinction. Those wealthy enough to afford private education sent their children to schools teaching Spanish, rather than take advantage of the much improved system of public schools where English served as the medium of instruction.¹¹ The Spanish image thrived. The few Spaniards left from the old days found themselves still comfortably at home in the province. Certainly one of the most popular residents of Macabebe was Colonel Eugenio Blanco, Ret., a Philippine-born Spaniard who had led the Macabebe Scouts against the armies of Aguinaldo. His brother, too, had served with distinction of the Spanish cause as a captain in their

¹⁰ *El Imparcial*, December 31, 1907, p. 1; Benigno Fajardo, "Social Life in Lubao," Beyer Series, pp. 4-6.

¹¹ The 1903 census shows a private and religious school enrollment of 602 pupils, or somewhere around 10 percent of the total school population [*Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903* (Washington: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1905), III, 686]. These figures reflect that probably mostly children of the upper class, the only ones who could afford to pay for schooling, attended the private and parochial schools. Of the twenty-one landowners interviewed who would have been eligible to attend school in the first decade of American rule, fifteen attended private schools and only two went to the public schools.

army. After the war, Blanco settled back on his large estate in Macabebe where he became the town's leading host, entertaining its most distinguished native and foreign guests.¹² In Pampanga, Blanco enjoyed the prestige and privileges of wealth and birth.

The blending of these two apparently opposite traditions provided no real difficulty for the Pampangans, who had not viewed the struggle of 1896 to 1898 as an ideological one. Ultimately, little difference in political philosophy separated the Pampangans, the rebel leadership, and the Spanish government. All believed in government of the many by the few. The dispute between two of the parties, the colonials and the revolutionaries, had turned on the question of who would constitute that leadership. Most Pampangans awaited the outcome of that struggle before choosing sides.

On the cultural plane the Pampangan upper class identified itself with its Spanish and Tagalog counterparts. Indeed, Filipino "high" culture, whether among the Pampangans or the Tagalogs (even the rebels), depended heavily on metropolitan Spain for its models. A product of his generation, Filipino hero Jose Rizal felt more comfortable in a Spanish than in a Filipino cultural milieu. And Rizal had many friends and admirers in Pampanga. Hence, the situation of the Pampangans celebrating the anniversary date of Rizal's execution (December 30) while at the same time imitating the ways of his executioners offers only an apparent contradiction. In actuality the Pampangans were honoring not the political martyr but the cultural hero, the most advanced model of Philippine cosmopolitanism, the Asian most educated in European ways.

For the Pampangan elite the revolution stood not so much for social and economic liberation as for the coming of age of Philippine leadership and the need to recognize politically that maturation. The acceptance of the revolution's symbols and, to

¹² The story of Blanco's background and standing in Pampangan society is pieced together from the following sources: BIA, 141-52; Alejandro, p. 38; *Manila Times*, May 9, 1900, p. 1; November 11, 1908, p. 3; July 19, 1910, p. 4; March 1, 1913, p. 2.

some extent, its rhetoric meant taking on new cultural baggage, not embarking on a different, innovative social or economic track.

The problem of what the revolution against Spain meant to the peasants of Pampanga still defies real understanding. The written sources say practically nothing on the subject, and the old peasants themselves made few comments about it in interviews with the author. The feeling emerges that they had little real interest in the events and leaders of the period. Rizal did not loom large as their hero or liberator and, afterward, they did little to honor his memory. They do not seem to have felt much rapport with this remote Tagalog intellectual who understood their way of life so poorly.¹³ Sentiments about the revolution seem, in general, foreign to their thinking, and they apparently spent their time avoiding the conflict around them, trying rather to ward off the ravages of the war. As a later section on agriculture will indicate, the revolutionary times perhaps tried the peasants' bodies more than their souls.

The Pampangans, but mainly the elite, absorbed the revolutionary spirit, particularly as it related to the Americans, in one final way, namely, in their activities connected with the growing independence movement which began during the first decade of the new century. Quite naturally, the natives found it difficult to express their true feelings about American domination, given the continuing presence of the colonial regime. Politics offered the best forum for the expression of Pampangan feeling toward their new masters. An examination of these mat-

¹³ In his various writings Rizal showed how poorly he understood the peasants of the Philippines. In a newspaper article written in Madrid called "The Indolence of the Filipinos," he admitted that the peasant did not work hard but attributed such indolence to the climate and Spanish colonialism [Leon Ma. Guerrero, *The First Filipino: A Biography of Jose Rizal* (Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963), pp. 227-229]. He obviously had no conception of the long hours of backbreaking work put in by peasant families to plant and bring in their crops. Similarly, in his novels, the peasant characters such as Sisa and her family in *Noli Me Tangere* are drawn without any of the finesse and subtle insight found in the sketches of the Spaniards and native upper-class figures like, say, Doña Victorina and her husband Dr. Espadaña in the same book.

ters, though, fits best into a general discussion of provincial politics and administration between 1901 and 1910.

The growth of party politics

Between 1901 and 1910 American influence on Pampangan life surfaced most visibly in the area of politics. Within the decade the political style of the native elite altered considerably as did, in some ways, the scope and nature of their political activities. Partisan politics per se offered no new dimension to Pampangan political behavior; the principalia had understood and indulged in such activities at least as far back as the 1890s. The Maura Act of 1893 expanded the suffrage among the principalia in the election of gobernadorcillos, and the surviving records for Pampanga reveal that considerable infighting took place in those elections. Often, extensive balloting was required to settle on a winning candidate.¹⁴

In a very real sense the election for provincial governor in 1902 represented merely a continuation of these earlier struggles, although on a somewhat larger scale. Municipal councillors, now elected by a rather limited suffrage, but still all from the principalia class, met in the capital at Bacolor to choose one of their own for the highest post.¹⁵ Governor Ceferino Joven of Bacolor stood as the candidate of the recently formed federal party, but the election had little to do with party politics. Instead, the struggle was waged at a very personal level between Joven and his strongest opponent, Monico Mercado of Sexmoan. At twenty-seven, young Mercado had going for him only his sharp and considerable legal talents and his family's wealth. His campaign consisted chiefly of throwing lavish entertainments for the municipal councillors of the various towns.¹⁶ Joven, on the other hand, had the benefit of age

¹⁴ PNA, Legajo "Pampanga Elecciones Numero 3."

¹⁵ *Manila Times*, February 20, 1902, p. 8; February 28, 1902, p. 1; March 4, 1902, p. 1; BIA, 2764-4, 2764-7.

¹⁶ *El Imparcial*, December 24, 1907, p. 1; Letter from Miss Vida Ventura, May 29, 1965. Miss Ventura interviewed in Pampanga in 1965 for information concerning Mercado.

and experience with the new regime. Several reports imply Joven even hinted that he was the choice of the Americans and that they expected him to win. The election eventually required two full days of balloting before Joven emerged the victor from among the eleven candidates. One article in the *Manila Times* suggested that some election irregularities may have occurred, but no one offered any proof for these charges. Acting Civil Governor Luke E. Wright confirmed Joven in the office.

The race in 1902 involved considerable vote switching and bore little resemblance to any kind of party politics. Joven, the strongest personality, won by capitalizing on all of his personal assets. The fact that he represented the only political party sanctioned at that time by the Americans scarcely mattered. In terms of his relationship to the revolutionary past, he had things both ways. As a member of the Masons from the old days, he possessed a reputation of being strongly anti-friar. He had also served on the provincial council in late 1898 under the Aguinaldo regime.¹⁷ At the same time Joven enjoyed the favor of the current administration for his role in restoring peace and order to the province in 1901. One can only describe Joven as a conservative revolutionary!

For reasons which still remain obscure, Joven chose not to run in 1904,¹⁸ and Macario Arnedo of Apalit who, like Joven,

¹⁷ List of Provincial Council during the second half of 1898 based on their report of finances for the province of Pampanga, December 31, 1898, PIR, Item 945/2, roll 56.

¹⁸ Many diverse factors may have prompted Joven's decision to retire in 1904. He obviously lost some of his attractiveness to the Americans and, as already noted, he had been criticized in the newspapers as early as 1902 for the way he campaigned for office and the way he governed the province [*Manila Times*, March 4, 1902, p. 5]. By 1904 he had held office continuously for six years under two different regimes, and since he was already in his fifties at the time he perhaps considered the moment an appropriate one to leave politics. Joven also felt severe economic pressures at that time; during 1904 and 1905 he had to sell 209 hectares of his land in Bacolor, worth P37,120 [PNA, registers 4882, 3884, 7109]. Internal provincial factors, such as the powerful and wealthy Arnedo's strong bid for the governorship, may have further helped Joven to make up his mind. Anyway, his retirement did not last long, for he was running for office again in 1907.

belonged to the Federal party, succeeded him.¹⁹ The election elicited little interest and was not hotly contended. As yet no sense of party opposition had developed in the province. However, when the gubernatorial election of 1906 came along, Arnedo had to run against a strong opponent. Eduardo Gutierrez David represented a different order; he ran the nationalistic newspaper *El Imparcial*, which took a more critical view of the new colonial regime. The decision went down to the wire and only after three ballots did Arnedo receive the necessary majority to take up his second term.²⁰

The contest in 1906 exhibited some new tendencies in Pampangan politics. For the first time a clear and open ideological distinction separated the opposing candidates: Gutierrez David and Arnedo divided sharply on their views of American administration. In neither of the prior elections had such a differentiation appeared. More importantly, Gutierrez David, the opposition candidate, ran with the backing of a rudimentary political organization of his own. The *Manila Times* described the group this way:

The Bacolor crowd that rallies on 'La Imparcial' [sic] belongs to the 'Comite de Intereses Filipinos', which is sometimes looked upon askance by the government authorities, although there has been no public declaration of intentions that might be considered inimical to the cause of stable government and good order. Still, a decided tendency is apparent here, as in Bulacan, to desire to elect men who have not come out so strongly in favor of the American government . . .²¹

¹⁹ *Manila Times*, February 2, 1904, p. 6.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, February 6, 1906, p. 1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, October 23, 1905, p. 2. *The Comite de Intereses Filipinos* has been described as a "conservative nationalist" social organization with members from a number of provinces, whose major aim was to send an agent to represent Philippine interests in America. The group lasted from 1904 to 1906 and never assumed any political functions itself [Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics (1872 to 1920)* (Manila: Oriental Commercial, 1926), pp. 289, 293, 294]. On August 12, 1905, the *Comite* in Pampauga sent a petition to Secretary of War Taft who was then visiting the Philippines. The petition contained some rather vague statements about ultimate independence and some pleas, mostly innocuous,

Although the "Bacolor crowd" had not yet taken the final step of becoming a province-wide party like their Federal opposition, they had made a good beginning. The *Manila Times* claimed that *El Imparcial* had come into being merely to support Gutierrez David and that after the election it would fold. The *Times* prediction proved wrong, as *El Imparcial* remained a nationalist organ until at least 1911,²² supporting the cause of Gutierrez David and several of his successors.

Several obstacles prevented the Gutierrez David group from achieving better results in 1906. They had had little experience with systematic party politics. The old Spanish administration had not allowed any such activities and the Taft regime had only fostered one party, the strongly pro-American *Partido Federal*, to which Arnedo and Joven belonged. As early as 1900 the Federalistas began the process of forming an organization with municipal branches.²³ The party thus possessed a six-year head start, and all its opponents had to learn organizational tactics on their own by participation in later elections. Moreover, until late 1906 any group desiring to stand against the Federalistas had to face the challenge of a Sedition Law, on the books since 1901. This holdover statute from the last days of the revolution discouraged, to some degree, any collective expression of dissent. Only late in 1906 did the Philippine Commission abandon the law.

The question of finding viable issues for a party platform

for internal reform. Those signing the document represented a fairly wide cross section of the Pampangan elite, including men who belonged, either then or later, to the Nacionalista and Progresista parties [BIA, 13506]. For the reaction of the Philippine Constabulary to the petition, which proves informative about American reactions to the Pampangans, see the confidential letter of Captain H. A. Hutchings, Senior Inspector for Pampanga, to the Adjutant of the First Constabulary District in Manila, written August 19, 1905 [BIA, 13206-1].

²² The last issue of *El Imparcial* the author could find had a date of 1911. No source, however, gives the year in which the paper finally ceased publication.

²³ Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe* (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), p. 54.

plagued the Gutierrez David group. Arnedo seemed to have done a respectable job as governor and offered no obvious targets for his opponents. Introduction of the subject of Philippine independence was inhibited by articles in the Sedition Law stipulating that the subject be presented circumspectly. Substantial matters for contention of province-wide interest did not appear in the 1906 campaign.

On a purely local level, the only obvious source of friction involved literally the Bacolor crowd and Arnedo. He had, in 1904, presided over the transfer of the provincial capital from Bacolor to San Fernando. At least one source suggested that Arnedo himself had provided the initiative for the move.²⁴ Bacolor had a distinguished past, having served as the Spanish capital for the whole Philippine Islands during the eighteenth century British occupation of Manila. The old town, for centuries the seat of political authority in the province, included among its residents some of the most distinguished members of the native elite—men like Governors Ceferino Joven, Francisco Liongson, and Honorio Ventura. The loss of prestige and jobs connected with the transfer of government certainly gave the people of Bacolor ample reason for disliking Arnedo. Furthermore, the governor took advantage of his tenure in office to improve public works in his home town of Apalit. The people of Bacolor, heretofore the chief beneficiaries of government largesse, undoubtedly had trouble adjusting to the new situation of seeing other towns prosper more. Nevertheless, as an issue, Bacolor's losses could scarcely have carried outside that town and probably gained votes for Arnedo in other places, particularly in San Fernando. The Gutierrez David group had to wait until the next big election in 1907 before finding a cause and some success.

The turning point in the development of the new politics in Pampanga really came with the elections of July and Novem-

²⁴ Clemente Ocampo, "Datos historicos sobre el pueblo de San Fernando, cabecera de la Pampanga, I.F.," LPC, p. 24.

ber 1907.²⁵ Circumstances conspired with the growth of opposition strength to make multiple-party politics inevitable that year. The recision of the Sedition Law in late 1906 permitted more open expressions against the long retention of the Philippines by the Americans. Opposition candidates could now run as freely as members of the Federal party. By virtue of a governmental reorganization, the parties could contend for three new and important elective offices that year, namely, two seats representing the province in the just created Philippine Assembly and a position as third member of the provincial board replacing one of the two appointed Americans. Moreover, the opportunity to run candidates for municipal president in each of the eighteen towns broadened the opposition party's chances of winning somewhere.

The Federal party, known from 1907 on as the *Partido Nacional Progresista*, began its organizational work early that year. In March the municipal branches began to function, and by June the party had chosen its two candidates for the Philippine Assembly, Vicente Valdez and Mariano Lim. The party's real strength, however, lay in the popularity of its two leading vote-getters, Macario Arnedo, again seeking reelection, and Ceferino Joven, vying for the seat on the provincial council. A little later the newly formed *Nacionalista* party put together a provincial slate that included assembly candidates Monico Mercado and Marcelino Aguas, plus Francisco Liongson running for governor. A third party, the *Partido Independiente* with Eduardo Gutierrez David as its standard-bearer and Magno Gosioco running for board member, competed in the race for provincial offices.²⁶ Gutierrez David, who shared many of Liongson's positions on campaign issues, obviously had personal qualms about relinquishing his role as head of the opposition to Liongson.

²⁵ For some reason the Philippine Commission chose to break up the election into two separate times: the July one for the assembly seats and the November one for provincial offices.

²⁶ On the election of 1907 see Gatbonton, p. 58; *Manila Times*, June 15, 1907, p. 3; August 21, 1907, p. 3.

The Progresistas and the Nacionalistas each maintained at least nominal ties with an insular-wide party; however, the nature and extent of those ties during the elections of 1907 remains unclear. Whether any of the various provincial branches in any way coordinated their activities, shared ideological sympathies, followed the same leadership, or represented similar economic interests must yet be demonstrated one way or another. In Pampanga, the only evidence of outside influence in provincial politics comes from the two visits of a Progresista committee headed by Philippine Commissioner Pardo de Tavera, the first time prior to the July elections for the assembly seats. Tavera sought to counteract the growing strength of the Nacionalistas and held public and private meetings with voters in most of the towns, making the case for the continuation of American rule.²⁷ His efforts proved ineffective as the Nacionalistas, Monico Mercado and Marcelino Aguas, swept by a goodly margin both seats from their Progresista opponents. Tavera came back in September to preside over the separation of Masantol from Macabebe and San Simon from San Luis and, undoubtedly, to do some politicking for his party.²⁸ He achieved

²⁷ U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), Pt. 1, 430-431. Tavera may well have had other good reasons besides party solidarity for coming to Pampanga. He owned land, acquired in 1901, in the towns of Magalang and Floridablanca. Both parcels of one hundred hectares each were located some distance from the main trunk of the Manila-Dagupan Railroad [*Manila Times*, January 24, 1906, p. 1]. Beginning in 1906, two branch lines went out from the main line, one to Magalang and the other toward Lubao, on the way to Floridablanca. Tavera had been responsible for the negotiations with some prominent citizens of Magalang which led to the Magalang spur. He also took an interest in improving irrigation facilities in that town [*Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez as *The Souvenir Program on the Founding Day of Magalang, December 13, 1863-December 13, 1954* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1954), pp. 29-30]. What his connections were with the Floridablanca line are unknown. He sold his property there in 1908, when the line was much closer to Floridablanca but before it actually reached the town [*Manila Times*, November 17, 1908, p. 1]. Hence, Tavera possessed financial as well as political interests in Pampanga.

²⁸ *Manila Times*, September 27, 1907, p. 5.

greater success this time, for in November the Progresistas won most of the provincial offices.

Final returns in 1907 indicated more than just a transition in political style; they also showed that the voters of Pampanga were moving away from the sway of the Progresista party. In July Nacionalistas Mercado and Aguas received 52 percent of the vote compared to only 31 percent for their Progresista opponents.²⁹ In the November provincial elections, of more immediate interest to the voters of Pampanga,³⁰ the Progresistas won (see Table 11). Even so, evidence of greatly increased Nacionalista strength persisted. Although both Arnedo and Joven, the strongest candidates of their party, won comfortably, neither received a majority of the votes cast. In the case of Joven the combined totals of his opponents more than doubled his own count. Moreover, neither of the two winners demonstrated any great province-wide strength compared to others in the race. Arnedo owed his victory to exceptionally strong showings in four municipalities of the southern tier of the province—Macabebe, Masantol, San Simon, and his home town of Apalit. These four towns provided 62 percent of his total vote. Joven owed 74 percent of his vote to lopsided wins in Macabebe, Masantol, and his home base of Bacolor.

In terms of party strength, the Progresista candidates outmatched their Nacionalista opposition in the gubernatorial struggle by more than two to one. And in the races for municipal presidents the Progresistas won in nine of the eighteen towns with the Nacionalistas taking only four and independents capturing the rest.³¹ Only in the race for board member did the combined Nacionalista vote surpass that of the Progresistas. On

²⁹ *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906*, Pt. 1, 50-51.

³⁰ In the July elections for the Philippine Assembly only 3,116 Pampangans registered to vote and 2,791 actually cast ballots [*ibid.*, pp. 50-51, 201]. In November, on the other hand, 5,764 registered and 5,420 voted [U.S. War Department, Office of the Secretary, *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1907* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908, Pt. 1, 86)].

³¹ *El Imparcial*, November 16, 1907, p. 1.

Table 11.

BALLOTING FOR GOVERNOR AND THIRD MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL BOARD IN PAMPANGA, 1907

Towns	For Governor			For Third Member of the Provincial Board						
	Arnedo, Pro.	Gutierrez David, Ind.	Liongson, Nac.	Infante, Pro.	Joven, Pro.	Joaquin, Nac.	Gosioco, Ind.	Luciano, Nac.	Hizon, Pro.	Consunji, Nac.
Angeles	34	39	57	5	29	22	5	38	0	41
Apalit	140	37	32	0	0	38	0	71	86	0
Arayat	74	209	80	21	36	76	28	199	2	25
Bacolor	13	232	182	5	245	147	2	20	1	1
Candaba	117	47	130	5	9	69	49	83	45	12
Floridablanca	71	11	3	47	47	6	40	5	15	2
Guagua	14	75	41	234	19	20	223	19	17	44
Lubao	15	141	218	124	32	188	171	60	0	4
Mabalacat	61	18	59	6	43	42	4	48	0	4
Macabebe	661	15	32	1	656	38	0	5	0	0
Magalang	25	119	7	9	0	1	0	152	1	4
Masantol	330	7	12	1	294	11	50	0	0	0
Mexico	125	11	88	13	86	86	3	10	49	0
Porac	44	87	20	27	19	19	120	4	0	3
San Fernando	165	55	156	11	82	100	18	24	55	43
San Luis	44	53	97	0	10	146	5	15	1	0
San Simon	216	66	19	0	6	137	66	51	16	11
Santa Rita	10	6	8	102	0	0	124	0	0	1
Total vote	2,159	1,228	1,241	611	1,613	1,146	908	804	288	195
Percent of vote	41	23	24	11	33	23	18	16	6	4

Source: *El Imparcial*, November 16, 1907, p. 1.

the other hand, the proliferation of candidates in the two big races does not speak well for the matter of party discipline. The Nacionalistas in particular suffered severely from their failure to organize behind single candidates by resolving personal differences and drawing the independents to their side.

The period 1907 to 1909 marked the last term of Progresista dominance of Pampangan politics, and in the latter year the board member spot and the assembly seats, as well as many municipal offices, went to Nacionalista candidates.³² Governor Arnedo was one of the few to survive his party's defeat that year. Even so, Arnedo emerged the winner only after challenging anomalies in the election results in court. His Nacionalista opponent, Francisco Liongson, initially declared the winner, fought the case for fourteen months, all the way to the Supreme Court, before losing on a technicality. Arnedo thus served as the last Progresista governor of Pampanga under the shadow of a long legal battle.³³

Disputed elections added one more aspect to the growth of partisan politics in Pampanga over the first decade of American rule. Not only did Arnedo have to sue for his position; so also did the successful candidates for assembly seats, provincial board member, and municipal president of Arayat, Candaba, Guagua, and Lubao.³⁴ A remark concerning the 1909 race for president of Candaba gives an excellent insight into changing modes of Pampangan politics:

The old people affirmed that the electoral campaign preceding the election of this president [Candaba, 1909] was the most hard fought

³² Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, p. 6; *Manila Times*, November 5, 1909, p. 2. Gutierrez David's Independente party also ran candidates in the election of 1909; however, they had no success and the party ceased having any real significance in Pampanga from that time on [Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 14].

³³ The progress of that trial may be followed in the *Manila Times*, July 13, 1910, p. 5; July 20, 1910, pp. 1, 3; January 9, 1911, p. 7. Arnedo resigned a year after his court victory and his attorney in that fight, Mariano Lim, filled out the few remaining months of his unexpired term [*ibid.*, March 26, 1912, p. 3].

³⁴ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, p. 6.

that they could remember, not only under the present regime but also during the Spanish domination; nevertheless, the political passions that burned at such a high temperature disappeared little by little thanks to the practical sense of the citizens.³⁵

The style that emerged bore some resemblance to American party politics of the same era. Yet such characteristics as weak party discipline, highly personal politics, and frequent court-disputed elections represented Pampangan adaptations to that style. Such accretions obviously do not reflect only Pampangan individuality as similar behavior occurred in other Philippine areas, both then and now.³⁶ Whether this common reaction resulted more from the similarity of Pampangan cultural and political background to that of other Filipino groups, the uniformity of American impact throughout the Islands, or the growing influence, emanating from Manila, of Filipino insular leaders presents an interesting problem far beyond the scope of this work. Only future research combining studies of many different regions will determine the cause or causes of these similarities.

One important and obvious factor in the development of a common reaction was that politics continued as the preserve of the Pampangan elite. The Americans assured such a situation by applying rather stringent qualifications to the voting privilege. Forbes explained the subject this way:

³⁵ Manuel Gatbonton, "Datos historicos del municipio de Candaba de la provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas, precedidos de unas copias que: relatan hechos autenticos que versen sobre el origen de muchos pueblos de Luzon y genealogia de los principes Malayas antes de la dominacion espanola," LPC, pp. 15-16.

³⁶ For a description of general Philippine political style see: Carl H. Landé, *Leaders, Factions, and Parties: The Structure of Philippine Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1965), pp. 4-8; Jean Grossholtz, *Politics in the Philippines* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown, 1964), pp. 136-137, 145-148; Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Philippines* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 101-104. And for an insightful view of contemporary Pampangan politics which shows a resemblance to the politics of the past see: Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles* (Pampanga: By the author, 1960), pp. 81-100.

The suffrage was given to male persons twenty-three years of age who had had a legal residence in the municipality for a period of six months immediately preceding the election and who were not citizens or subjects of any foreign power, and who were comprised within one of the three classes: (a) those who prior to August 13, 1898 (date of American occupation of the City of Manila), held certain municipal offices; (b) those who owned real property to the value of two hundred and fifty dollars or who annually paid fifteen dollars or more of the established taxes; and (c) those who spoke, read, or wrote English or Spanish.³⁷

These restrictions effectively eliminated practically all peasants from any role in the political process. Only the elite, landowning and professional, could fulfill such exclusive demands. In no election during the entire period did a total of 10 percent of the adult male population even register to vote.³⁸

The list of names of major officeholders between 1901 and 1910 further confirms the impression of elite domination of provincial politics. Eighty men held the position of municipal president. Of this group, at least seventy-three, or 91 percent, had either themselves served as capitan municipal in the nineteenth century or had close relatives who had held the office.³⁹ Furthermore, merely to serve in municipal office required the expenditure of substantial personal resources, inasmuch as officeholders, among other town leaders, were expected to make donations for many local public works projects.⁴⁰ At the provincial level reputedly only those with considerable fortunes

³⁷ W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), I, 154.

³⁸ For the election of 1909 only 5,623 registered to vote, but it was the largest total for any election in the decade [U.S. War Department, *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 46].

³⁹ The names comes from lists in LPC and HDP, as well as *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang, Diciembre 1963* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1963), p. 31.

⁴⁰ To cite one example of the public responsibility of officials, in 1909 Governor Arnedo and the municipal presidents of Lubao and Floridablanca and a leading farmer of the former town each pledged ₱4,000 for the construction of a public school in Lubao [PNA, register 7098].

could even vie for elective office. Even so, several candidates lost most of their wealth playing the game of politics.⁴¹

However, an official needed social connections as well as money to succeed in office. His responsibility often demanded that he move outside his own bailiwick and obtain support from administrators elsewhere. Only members of the old elite, fluent in Spanish or, later, in English, could build such ties. During the late nineteenth century the Pampangan upper class had already begun to establish kinship and social ties throughout Pampanga as well as with the upper class in other provinces. Some Pampangans had set up part-time residence in Manila where they could associate with the elite from elsewhere in the Islands and forge new political and social alliances. Furthermore, an education at schools like San Juan de Letran and the University of Santo Tomas created opportunities for making lasting friendships with students from other provinces. Indeed, an education at one of these schools was considered an excellent credential for holding office in Pampanga.⁴²

Thus, elite members of the town of Santa Rita used their influence with members of the Philippine Commission to keep their town from becoming attached to Bacolor during the big municipal consolidation drive in 1904.⁴³ Undoubtedly the arrangements for the opening of the spur line of the railroad to Magalang proved easy, since one of Philippine Commissioner Pardo de Tavera's former medical students, Andres Luciano, represented his town in the negotiations.⁴⁴ At both the pro-

⁴¹ Letter from Miss Vida Ventura; Interview with Mr. Alfredo Ganzon, Angeles, Pampanga, June 5, 1964. For instance, a survey of the notarial registers reveals that Ceferino Joven sold at least 312 hectares of land worth at least ₱50,585 between 1901 and 1908. Presumably a good share of that considerable amount of money went for politics [PNA, *Protocolo* No. 1946, registers 4882, 4883, 7109, 7110].

⁴² *El Imparcial*, November 21, 1907, p. 2. An article in this issue conspicuously lists Jose Juyco's education at Letran and UST as a credential for his being confirmed in his post as municipal president of Porac.

⁴³ "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Santa Rita and Its Barrios," HDP, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *Capagmasusian* . . . 1954, p. 31.

vincial and insular levels, then, important social ties facilitated administrative action.

Such connections must certainly have provided numerous channels for the spreading of common political ideas and values and encouraged the development of uniform political styles. Almost all the important native politicians in Manila had demonstrably strong links with Pampanga and its elite and probably used those links to spread their own notions. Another Philippine Commissioner, Benito Legarda, like Tavera owned large holdings in Pampanga.⁴⁵ A rising figure of the new generation of politicians, Manuel Luis Quezon, had friends in Angeles going back to their school days at Letran.⁴⁶ Speaker of the Assembly Sergio Osmeña, along with a party of assemblymen, made one of those semiofficial social calls to Bacolor in 1907.⁴⁷ He thus continued a custom carried on by American officials since the beginning of their regime. The provincial elite certainly had many chances to learn of the political doings in Manila and other parts of the Islands.

Two closely related matters still need discussing: what, if any, differences separated the two major parties and why did the Nacionalista party become the dominant one in Pampanga? As to the first question, Bonifacio Salamanca has concluded, and apparently quite correctly, that at the insular level the major stated issue between the two parties, immediate versus ultimate independence for the Philippines, was a bogus one.⁴⁸ Their public opinions to the contrary, Nacionalista leaders shared privately with their Progresista opponents sentiments in favor of a more evolutionary approach to political and economic autonomy. Hence, Salamanca deduces that no matters of ideology separated the parties. O. D. Corpuz, in essence, concurs with this position, adding the notion that family loyalty

⁴⁵ *Manila Times*, January 24, 1906, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Katiwala Press, 1948), p. 24.

⁴⁷ *Manila Times*, November 19, 1907, p. 7.

⁴⁸ Salamanca, pp. 63-64, 67-68, 168-177.

alone provided the distinction between the contending groups. At the municipal level, family factions and purely local issues supplied the wherewithal for political division, while provincial and insular parties merely represented larger agglomerates of local factions and interest groups.⁴⁹ Political ideals took a back seat to the dividing up of political power and national wealth. According to Corpuz, this system of politics has lingered on to the present time when Nacionalista and Liberal party candidates switch labels readily in order to gain the greatest personal advantage in a campaign. In this sense, politics of today represents only an extension of political traits already evident in 1907.

These conclusions do not prove entirely satisfactory as they pertain to the situation in Pampanga in 1907, the first year of full-scale party politics. Why, if no real issues existed, did any candidates choose to run as Nacionalistas? Why did they not simply take up the label of the successful "in" party, the Progresista? How could the elite families, related in so complex a way by generations of intermarriage, sort themselves out so quickly into two or three distinct province-wide factions organized with political ties at the insular level? And, finally, if the Pampangans, like politicians in other areas, did not actually split on the independence issue, can one simply assert that no issues existed at all?

Some of the evidence available from the campaign of 1907 hints that there was, in fact, a basis for political division transcending purely local and family concerns. Each of the four candidates in the race for governor, the contest of most interest to the Pampangan voters, had been involved in some way with the Philippine Revolution. The three losers in the election had all participated in the Aguinaldo government in some capacity or other. Liongson's role has been mentioned before and both Gutierrez David and Infante had held seats as representatives to the Republic congress at Tarlac in 1899. Arnedo, by contrast, had conspicuously not become involved with the

⁴⁹ Corpuz, pp. 95-98, 101-104.

revolutionary side. His only known activity in that troubled period involved interceding with General Antonio Luna on behalf of the citizens of Macabebe, who feared insurgent reprisals because of the town's mercenaries' support of the colonial armies.

In the race for third member of the provincial board the situation appears less clear-cut, particularly because the evidence is less complete. Joven, as already noted, had a very equivocal position in the war. Yet, Nacionalista Jose Luciano held the rank of lieutenant in the native volunteers,⁵⁰ and another Nacionalista candidate, Antonio Consunji, became municipal captain of San Fernando under the insurgent government.⁵¹ The other Progresista candidate, Francisco Hizon, succeeded Consunji in San Fernando, but by that time regimes had changed and Hizon served under the auspices of the American military.⁵²

The involvement of so many of the candidates in the events of the revolution suggests strongly that opposing attitudes toward American domination played at least a partial role in the election. Arnedo's differences with the people of Bacolor over the capital transfer provided another dimension as did, no doubt, other still unidentified issues. Nevertheless, the political generation of 1907 had participated, willingly or not, in the partisanship of the revolution, either on the side of the Americans or against them. The guerrilla warfare of 1900 and 1901 had involved them all.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Capagmasusian* . . . 1963, p. 21.

⁵¹ Ocampo, p. 6.

⁵² List of those comprising the American Civil Government and their electors in San Fernando and the others who have been made electors, PIR, Item 564/2, roll 33.

⁵³ The failure of Mary Hollnsteiner to refer to the partisanship of the revolutionary era mars her otherwise excellent account of the growth of political factions in a Bulacan town [*The Dynamics of Power in a Philippine Municipality* (Quezon City: Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines, 1963), pp. 38-59]. She contends that the political struggles of the first decade of American rule represented merely a power rivalry between two major family factions. However, because she

What issues, then, in 1907 reflected the continuance of the old revolutionary divisions? The eclipse of men like Jose Alejandrino and the absence of any reference to Aguinaldo or his government indicated that an actual return to the first Philippine Republic did not have any appeal as a party platform. And, following Salamanca's line of reasoning, immediate independence, never a real possibility in 1907, only supplied a shibboleth, not a real source of contention. Hence, one must comb expressions in favor of independence for internal evidence of continuity with the issues of the revolutionary past.

Two such statements, taken from the literature of the times, contain a broad hint of a deep issue between the two factions. The first comes from Macario Arnedo's annual governor's report for 1906-07:

In view of the approaching election [of 1907] . . . the Partido Independista Inmediatista [precursor of the Nacionalista party], taking advantage of the inaction of the . . . Partido Nacional Progresista, started in this province an active campaign of propaganda of its radical theories and aspirations in preaching to the masses the idea of immediate independence, as the panacea for all the ills of which this country is suffering.

In view of this propaganda, of fatal results for the present situation of this country, the . . . Progresistas, began to work with great energy and to gather together all the sound forces and most prominent elements of the province, for the purpose of preventing, by their united action, the doctrines of the Partido Inmediatista, which are irrational under the present circumstances, taking root. In this work they were aided by . . . Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, who has . . . gone to all sorts of sacrifices, traveling through nearly all the pueblos of Pampanga, to spread in public meetings and private conferences, . . . the altruistic purposes of the American Government in these islands and its decided efforts to aid us in securing, within a short time, our complete independence on a democratic basis;⁵⁴

avoids considering the events of the revolution as a possible source of friction, Miss Hollnsteiner weakens her whole argument on this point.

⁵⁴ *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906*, Pt. 1, 430-431.

The other comment appeared in an article in Gutierrez David's *El Imparcial* in 1908. The article in part refers to a certain Mr. Irey, supervising teacher in Mexico, who had the misfortune while on a horseback inspection tour of barrio schools to trespass in some ricefields. His transgression triggered the following sarcastic remarks and only slightly veiled comparisons between growing rice and Philippine self-government:

The above mentioned gentleman, if he considers himself a true son of the traditional democracy of the people of the great Washington and other no less illustrious Americans, knowing as he must the most rudimentary principles of the rights of the individual, since he comes from that race whom providence has placed in our path to guide us and to teach us to rule our own destiny, he ought to set an example as far as respecting the property of others without destroying a single plant of palay, whose husks are beginning to grow; since it is well known that the palay, as it is found right now, is completely unusable if it is bruised at that part of the stem from which the seed sprouts.⁵⁵

The two passages invite comparison on at least three different levels. On the first, both Arnedo and the reporter for *El Imparcial* accepted independence as the final goal of native aspirations. Only a rather vague standard of the pace in achieving that end separated the two positions. Yet, on a second level, the statements accept two different ways to work toward independence. One, Arnedo's way, entailed intensive American tutelage during the development toward an autonomous state. The opposition way called for rapid abandonment by American colonial officials of the reins of administration and a corresponding "Filipinization" of the regime. This dichotomy may have reflected the fact that Arnedo, having worked personally with American officials, respected their contributions to native government, while the opposition, as outsiders to the councils of government who had confronted only the impersonality of the American regime, did not comprehend its achievements. Or perhaps the old revolutionary spirit still haunted the Nacionalistas and made them less

⁵⁵ *El Imparcial*, October 27, 1908, p. 1.

receptive to massive American intervention. At this point a third level of comparison emerges. Arnedo appeared emotionally predisposed to having Americans present in Pampanga, while the "Bacolor crowd" preferred not having them around. These two attitudes, based at least in part on past divisions, may well have been the real heart of political contention in 1907 between the parties in Pampanga. Hidden behind the rhetoric of independence, the two factions tied their aspirations to the popularity, or lack thereof, of the Americans. Politics represented for Pampangans a peaceful, yet meaningful if muted, way of expressing their feelings about the changes occurring in their province during the first decade of American rule.

The opposition party's attachment to native control of local government did not necessarily commit the candidates, either way, on the issue of immediate independence for the Philippines. Candidates, without contradiction, could advocate the withdrawal of Americans from the province on the one hand and, privately at least, favor prolonged U.S. retention of the Philippines on the other. Two quite distinct sets of interests were involved. At the local level the struggle for political control and the awkwardness of Pampangan-American relations dictated a policy, for the Nacionalistas, of urging American departure from the scene. On the insular level such concerns as international security and access to U.S. markets could lead the same candidates and officeholders to favor secretly a long-term relationship with the United States. Indeed, in a similar way, conflicting public and private stands on U.S. retention of the Philippines characterized much of nationalist politics in the Islands from 1907 to 1935.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the continuing dichotomy between the Philippine desire for some form of independence and the wish to maintain a close special relationship with the United States, see: Corpuz, pp. 68-70; Theodore Friend, *Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), Pts. 2, 3, *passim*; Michael Onorato, *A Brief Review of American Interest in Philippine Development and Other Essays* (Berkeley, Cal.: McCutchan Publishing, 1968), pp. 112-118. To show that a similar version of the dichotomy existed even after independence in 1946, see: George E. Taylor, "The

The Nacionalista party's domination of Pampangan politics after 1909 came about as a result of a number of factors. At the insular level the party had better leadership. Beginning in 1907, two Nacionalistas, Manuel Luis Quezon and Sergio Osmeña, increasingly controlled national politics, eclipsing old Progresistas like Tavera and Legarda. The Progresistas fumbled the political initiative when their campaign to have the Philippines become an American state failed, and they never retrieved that initiative. Moreover, the American regime adopted the Nacionalistas and made them an integral part of the administration. For Pampangans, ties with the new party proved most valuable; as an increasingly younger generation of politicians with no attachments to the revolutionary past came along, matters of political advantage surely replaced ideological positions as the motivating force in politics.

At the provincial level, the fact that the Progresistas had monopolized offices from 1901 to near the end of the decade must have at least given the Nacionalistas the advantage of novelty. Also, events of the decade worked against the pro-American party. Each year, Americans turned over more administrative positions to native officials, thus making the idea of American tutelage (the Progresista platform) a dead issue. The poor social relations with the American community, noted in the preceding chapter, undoubtedly compromised the Progresistas and boosted the opposition. Finally, Progresista prestige languished because, for most of the first ten years of American rule, the colonial regime failed to cope with the almost continuous agricultural depression born during the revolution. When relief came, the Progresista party had already expired.

The agricultural situation

Around 1910 an anonymous resident of Lubao, but obviously a person with considerable farming experience, wrote an

Challenge of Mutual Security," in *The United States and the Philippines*, ed. Frank H. Golay (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966), pp. 67-94.

article lamenting the poor economic health of his home town.⁵⁷ He complained that his townsmen exploited only half the usable land and missed many opportunities to benefit from the abundant natural resources around them. Options existed to increase sugar and rice production, as well as to experiment with such new crops as coffee and cacao, and to turn swampy areas into productive fishponds and nipa palm gardens.⁵⁸ But the people of Lubao chose merely to tread water and grow only those crops necessary to ensure their subsistence. Only Tagalogs and Chinese, outsiders, came in and took advantage of the limited agricultural surpluses, trading them for large profits in neighboring mountainous and land-poor Bataan.

The unknown author offered a number of very plausible reasons for the lethargy that gripped his town. The Porac and Gutad rivers, crossing Lubao, had silted up over the years, thus preventing the natives from raising extra crops of rice which depended on the free flow of these two streams. The cost of renting the new efficient rice-thrashing machinery proved excessive and discouraged farmers from using it to produce marketable surpluses. But these factors presented less of a handicap than the rinderpest epidemic which had plagued the town for more than a decade. During that span the bovine disease had killed two-thirds of the carabao in the town, which had seriously hampered both sugar and rice farming because only the carabao could cultivate the muddy fields and tow the carts of harvested crops over the poor roads in the area. Furthermore, the replacement animals then being imported from China were very expensive and tended to die off rather quickly due to problems of acclimation.

Compounding the farmers' adversity from natural causes was government inaction. For example, there was the deplorable condition of most roads. One main all-weather road connected Lubao with the rest of the province, but that road did not extend

⁵⁷ "History of Lubao," [handwritten] LPC, pp. 5-22.

⁵⁸ Nipa palms have two major uses in the Philippines. The fronds make excellent roofing material and the juice from the tree is converted into alcohol for drinking purposes.

to the valuable markets of Bataan. Only merchants coming from outside with their small trading vessels could reach the latter area. The land-bound farmers of Lubao could not. Moreover, the paths running from the poblacion to the outlying farming barrios were impassable during the rainy season, and many of the local bridges had washed out. The government did not bother to replace them.

Nor had the government supplied the funds for a new public market which would have stimulated trade and industry in the town. Rather, the author complained, the Philippine Commission took excessive amounts of money in the form of an *ad valorem* tax on agricultural land. The prostrate farmers had to make their payments at a fixed rate based on the assessed value of their land. Taxes were not geared to profits—whether from rentals or crop yields—and even during poor years the rates remained the same. The farmers, according to the article, needed a five-year suspension of taxes to get on their feet again; otherwise, they would have to continue selling their land (at the then reduced prices) just to pay their taxes.

The anonymous writer from Lubao was describing a cycle of economic depression at least partially aggravated by inadequate government planning. The administration, both local and insular, spent too little on public works and collected too much in taxes. Farmers kept hoarding their rice year after year rather than market it, and wealthy landowners refused to spend money to open new areas to cultivation. The town's economy stagnated and hard times seemed to breed more hard times. Only some outside impulse could break the circle.

On a broader scale, the same description could have applied with little change to Pampanga as a whole during the years from 1901 to 1910. In actuality, the depression had its beginnings in the late nineteenth century when a number of events adversely affected Pampangan agriculture. A world-wide silver crisis in 1893 forced the Manila-based American firm of Russell, Sturgis and Company into bankruptcy. Russell, Sturgis for years had given a stimulus to the Philippine sugar industry by supplying

island growers with the latest in sugar processing machinery.⁵⁹ After the firm went under, the quality of Philippine sugar, including Pampanga's, lagged behind that of other regions of the world which employed the latest processing techniques.⁶⁰ Furthermore, price fluctuations, the scarcity of cash, and the paucity of credit facilities that followed upon the crisis of 1893 hindered sugar production in the Islands. When, finally, the worst times appeared to be over, along came the Philippine Revolution.

The war years upset Pampangan farming in many ways. Disruptions at the port of Manila limited the exportation of Pampangan sugar, and the destruction of many sugar mills in the province hampered production. The five years of fighting often caused near famine conditions as crops, machinery, and irrigation walls were destroyed or neglected. In several towns numbers of small farmers went into debt and ended up as tenants on land that they had previously owned. Also, the rinderpest epidemic, which had periodically infected the carabao in the province since 1888, worsened during the revolutionary years; not until well into the first decade of American rule did it abate somewhat.⁶¹

Even the coming of peace brought only partial relief to Pampanga's farmers, who had not yet had time fully to recover from the havoc of war when the cholera epidemic of 1902 struck, reducing the manpower available for agriculture. At the same time, Pampanga was hit by a locust plague which made serious inroads into the crops of 1902 and 1903.⁶² In May of the latter

⁵⁹ G. E. Nesom, *The Sugar Industry of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁰ "Report in Translation of Jose R. de Luzuriaga to the Philippine Commission" [ca. 1904], BIA, 4122-10, p. 6.

⁶¹ On the effects of the war on Pampangan agriculture see *Manila Times*, November 26, 1901, p. 2; "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis, Barrio San Isidro," HDP, p. 24, Barrio San Roque, p. 28; Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands, 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p. 150; "Common Dangerous Communicable Diseases of Domestic Animals in the Philippine Islands," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, 1 (1908), 110.

⁶² Gatbonton, "Datos historicos . . .," p. 13.

year Governor Joven led a delegation of municipal presidents to Manila to seek tax remission because conditions were so deplorable.⁶³ Two years later a petition of the *Comite de Intereses Filipinos* contained a similar request for tax relief.⁶⁴

Occasionally individual areas of Pampanga had good harvests between 1901 and 1910,⁶⁵ but at no time did the province as a whole show consistent signs of recovery. Various events intervened. In 1906 sugar sold for a low price on the market because of a disagreement between growers and Chinese sugar buyers.⁶⁶ Rinderpest appeared on and off in various municipalities throughout the decade.⁶⁷ A report on agricultural lands in the province revealed that they were still inadequately irrigated for the most efficient production.⁶⁸ And in 1909 the rainy season lasted particularly long, into December, causing an estimated loss of 40 percent over the previous year to the rice and sugar harvest.⁶⁹ Not until 1910 could Governor Arnedo note a marked improvement in the overall farming situation.

Yet all of these factors combined do not fully explain the persistently depressed state of the Pampangan economy. Farmers had known and overcome such adversity before and the province still possessed rich resources in terms of fertile land, capital equipment, and agricultural expertise. But the complaint of the Lubao writer made it abundantly clear that the Pampangans of his day lacked the incentive to expand their production. In large measure this could be attributed to failing opportunities for Philippine sugar on the world market. The first loss came in 1884 when European farmers started growing beet sugar and the continental countries set up protective tariffs to aid the new

⁶³ *Manila Times*, May 25, 1903, p. 1.

⁶⁴ BIA, 13506.

⁶⁵ *Manila Times*, December 11, 1905, p. 2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, January 26, 1906, p. 6.

⁶⁷ Gatbonton, "Datos historicos . . .," p. 16; Ocampo, p. 24. Reports of outbreaks of rinderpest in various towns also appear in the issues of the *Philippine Agricultural Review* for 1908 and 1909.

⁶⁸ Pablo Tecson y Ocampo, "Agricultural Conditions in the Province of Pampanga," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, I (1908), 432-437.

⁶⁹ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 1.

industry, though the effect of the loss was mitigated by the fact that America still offered the greatest outlet for Philippine sugar. When, however, in the 1890s, the American Congress passed the McKinley and Dingley Tariffs, in part to protect U.S. beet sugar growers, the losses were felt in Manila. In addition, after 1898 the United States began to import, duty-free, sugar from the newly annexed Hawaiian Islands. One further change in the international market made the situation for Philippine sugar even more desperate. In 1895, as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, Japan acquired Formosa and began taking that island's sugar crop duty-free. Philippine sugar, which received no such exemption, was suddenly put in a difficult competitive position. Philippine growers were left to vie with their counterparts in Java for the China market, the last remaining outlet with relatively low tariffs.⁷⁰

Shortly after the United States obtained the Philippines, the Supreme Court decided that the government could tax imports from the Philippines as though they came from a foreign country. Congress responded in 1902 by placing on Philippine goods tax rates that amounted to 75 percent of those rates found in the Dingley Tariff of 1897. The duty of \$37.15 per metric ton severely limited the quantity of Philippine sugar on the American market and continued the dependence of Philippine growers on the China market.⁷¹ Throughout the first decade of American rule, Philippine sugar growers, including many from Pampanga, sent appeals to Manila and Washington to have these tariffs removed.⁷² But not until 1909 did Congress act favorably upon their requests.

The course and extent of the agricultural crisis in Pampanga appeared most vividly in the Manila sugar export figures

⁷⁰ All the information on the relationship of Philippine sugar to world markets comes from "Memo from Jose R. de Luzuriaga to William H. Taft, February, 1904," BIA, 4122-7, p. 1.

⁷¹ Information on the Dingley Tariff comes from George H. Fairchild, Rafael Corpus, and Felipe Buencamino, Jr., (comps.), *Facts and Statistics about the Philippine Sugar Industry* (Manila: Philippine Sugar Assn., 1928), pp. 42-43.

⁷² See, for example, *Manila Times*, April 6, 1909, p. 1.

for the era. Not all the sugar leaving that port came from Pampanga, but the province was the largest sugar producer in Luzon and in any given year probably contributed a high percentage of the total export from Manila (see Table 12 for figures from 1895,

Table 12.
SUGAR EXPORT FROM THE PORT OF MANILA, 1895-1910

<i>Year</i>	<i>Weight in short tons</i>	<i>Percent of 1895 export</i>
1895	121,076.6	100
1896	109,429.4	90
1897	64,268.0	53
1898	17,581.8	15
1899	5,626.2	5
1900	28,336.9	23
1901	4,796.6	4
1902	491.2	0.4
1903	364.3	0.3
1904	4,786.5	4
1905	3,953.6	3
1906	21,566.6	18
1907	21,961.5	18
1908	46,526.0	38
1909	23,413.1	19
1910	33,125.9	27

Source: Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands*, 1920 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p. 154.

the best export year of the nineteenth century, to 1910). The depression had a number of effects on agricultural activities, particularly on their pace and extent. As the markets contracted and crop prices fell,⁷³ Pampangans merely curtailed the cultivation of acreage and waited for events to change for the better. Hard times did not provoke a revolution in farming techniques, as sugar growers continued to depend on the same crops and the

⁷³ In January 1906 the price of sugar fell to between ₱3.00 and ₱4.00 per picul whereas, in the better years of the nineteenth century, prices had reached between ₱11.00 and ₱13.00 per picul [*Manila Times*, January 26, 1906, p. 6; "Report of Jose R. de Luzuriaga . . .," p. 7].

same methods of growing them that they had used in the preceding century. They sought the solution to their economic problems in tax relief and removal of U.S. tariff barriers.

Planters in Pampanga carried on a slowdown in production by ceasing to raise as much sugar as before. A report of the Bureau of Agriculture in 1908 revealed that more than half of the land in the province suitable for sugar growing was either left fallow or turned to some other crop.⁷⁴ An indication of the prevailing native attitude toward commercial agriculture came from the notarial registers of the period.⁷⁵ Absolute sales of farmland outnumbered pacto de retro sales. By comparison, in the 1890s retro sales, a useful way of spreading available cash resources for farming, far exceeded absolute sales. The pacto de retro, with all its options, demonstrated the willingness of both buyer and seller to gamble on the profitability of agricultural land. The decreasing use of such contracts in the early twentieth century evidenced the farmers' more pessimistic outlook on the future of sugar.

While retro sales declined, the use of regular mortgages increased. In some of its options the pacto de retro functioned like a mortgage, but the latter arrangement generally was less flexible than the former. Mortgages represented a much more straightforward cash deal showing little consideration for the agricultural functions of the property in question. With a mortgage the lender could not obtain use of the land as he sometimes did with

⁷⁴ "The Area of Land Actually Cultivated with Sugar Cane in 1908 and the Area of Land Adapted to Such Cultivation by Provinces," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, III (1910), 293.

⁷⁵ The information on the various contracts involving agricultural lands comes from the notarial registers in PNA. Until 1902 such books were still called protocolos. After that time the term notarial registers was used, although the function of the books remained the same. The books examined for the years 1901 to 1910 represent practically all of the volumes still available in the archives. Their numbers are: *Protocolo* Nos. 1946 (1901), 1947 (1902) and registers 4852, 4855, 4857, 4859, 4860, 4862, 4863, 4864, 4866, 4869, 4871, 4873, 4876, 4877, 4881, 4882, 4883, 4884, 4885, 4888, 4890, 4891, 4892, 4896, 4897, 4899, 4900, 4933, 4935, 4936, 6171, 7074, 7098, 7101, 7102, 7109, 7110, 7111, 7146, 7147, 7149, 7867, 7868. These books appear to include most of the volumes that existed for the period and covered transactions in almost every municipality in every year.

the retro contract. But during the depressed years lenders had no intention of farming land and mortgages proffered two advantages. They generally went for shorter periods of time than the retro contracts, sometimes for as little as four months. Pacto de retro contracts usually were made for a period of four or five, up to ten years. Moreover, as Governor Arnedo noted, interest rates for mortgages had by 1909 reached usurious proportions.⁷⁶ The latter two conditions demonstrated that investment capital had become more scarce and that some investors were seeking a quick, high turnover on their loans.

Not all Pampangans restricted their business activities. Some of the biggest entrepreneurs continued to search out economic opportunities within the existing situation. Arnedo complained that some of the wealthier Pampangans turned to the rather discreditable practice of lending money to an indigent farmer just at harvest time and receiving in return an option on his crops at prices reduced by 50 or 60 percent of their value. How prevalent this practice really was remains unknown, since such arrangements did not appear in the notarial registers. However, the registers do indicate the names of a small group of entrepreneurs with some capital who still made substantial purchases of land through absolute sale and who invested, via the pacto de retro, in farming prospects.⁷⁷ Some of the biggest of

⁷⁶ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 3.

⁷⁷ The list below gives the names and amount of trading carried on by the biggest dealers found in the registers.

<i>Name and town</i>	<i>Amount in hectares</i>	<i>Cash outlay</i>
Those buying through absolute sales:		
Matco Ayson, Porac	79.4039	P8,700
Roman Cuyugan, Mexico	61.5490	P14,000
Ladislao Dayrit, Magalang	78.3416	P11,700
Tomas Dison, Magalang	131.6840	P7,000
Manuel Escaler, Apalit	210.3760	P25,500
Jose de Leon, Bacolor	178.1226	P22,490
Those buying with pacto de retro:		
Sra. Dolores Coronel, Betis	414.2364	P29,938
Manuel Escaler, Apalit	105.0950	P32,560
Jose de Leon, Bacolor	147.0000	P26,978
Mariano Pamintuan, Angeles	493.8633	P19,500
Isidro Santos, San Fernando	418.8802	P30,120
Roman Valdes, Bacolor	512.1331	P18,900

these investors—men like Jose de Leon, Manuel Escaler, and Isidro Santos—put their cash into a wide range of projects in the province. Jose de Leon in particular not only bought quantities of land by absolute sale and acquired title to other properties through retro contracts but also held some mortgages and rented out agricultural acreage to other farmers. The records do not reveal whether he or any of the others profited from their cash outlays in those hard times, but they certainly left themselves in a good position to benefit from the better days of the next decade.

Individuals like Jose de Leon represented the exception rather than the rule. For the most part, landowners retrenched as much as possible, held on to local outlets for their produce, and waited. Some demand for sugar still existed in Central Luzon, and the Pampangans retained that market.⁷⁸ The need for rice for local consumption continued, even grew with the population, and Pampangan farmers may well have converted some of their sugar lands back into rice paddies; at least provincial production of rice seems to have increased somewhat during the decade.⁷⁹ Even with the cutbacks in overall commercial productivity, then, enough economic activity was generated to sustain the traditional economic structure of the province.

⁷⁸ Nesom, p. 47.

⁷⁹ The proof that rice production increased is by no means conclusive, but the available statistics are suggestive. In 1908 the Bureau of Agriculture estimated that Pampangan farmers planted 45,000 hectares with rice and harvested 557,000 cavans (one cavan equals approximately 2.12 bushels) of paddy ["Statistics on Rice in the Philippine Islands," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, II (1909), 113]. Pampanga thus ranked sixth in rice production for Luzon. In the last half of the nineteenth century Pampanga had ceased to be known as a big rice producing province, but this ranking hints that the situation was changing. More importantly, if the bureau figures are accurate, Pampangans devoted more area to rice than to sugar in 1908, certainly a reversal from earlier decades. Arnedo's reports list rice production at 400,000 cavans in 1909, and 600,000 in 1910. These figures are in line with those of the bureau and suggest that in 1910 production may have been on the rise again after a bad year in 1909. What is perhaps most significant about all these figures is that, for the first time since fairly early in the nineteenth century, officials even took notice of rice production in Pampanga.

Although Governor Arnedo observed that some of the smaller landholders lost their property and became tenants, this trend does not appear to have become widespread.⁸⁰ No accurate figures, much less ones of a comparative nature, were ever taken on the extent of tenancy in Pampanga,⁸¹ but a number of factors were at work to prevent landowners from becoming tenants. The government offered some tax relief and thus forestalled a num-

⁸⁰ From the written sources, Arnedo's observation was the only reference to such a loss of land. Among the tenants and landlords interviewed by the author, none actually claimed to have lost their land because of debts incurred due to the depression.

⁸¹ The 1903 *Census*, III, 273, contains some figures on the size and tenure of farms in Pampanga:

	Number of farms classified by tenure				
	Total # of Farms	Owners	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Rentals
	10,031	6,498	861	2,505	166
Size in hectares					
Under 0.35	687	550	15	111	10
0.35 and under 1	1,680	1,143	63	460	14
1 and under 2	2,306	1,362	253	662	29
2 and under 5	2,360	1,397	182	731	50
5 and under 10	1,220	809	89	295	27
10 and under 15	495	349	65	77	4
15 and under 30	550	370	73	95	12
30 and under 50	318	225	54	29	10
50 and under 100	257	185	39	26	7
100 and over	158	108	28	19	3

[One labor tenant not counted in this table].

Unfortunately, the numbers refer to the farms and not the individual operators. Moreover, the term "tenure" refers to who is managing the farm, not who owns it and not who and how many are operating it. For example, the figures reveal that 108 owners had tenure on farms of 100 hectares or more. Given the technology available at that time, no single owner could have operated such a farm by himself or even with the aid of his family. In actuality, a single farm operator could scarcely handle more than 5 hectares of sugar land, and less than 5 in the case of riceland, in a single season. Large farm owners almost always supervised the work of many share tenants under them. Yet none of these tenants appeared in such a table as the one above. Clearly the number of share tenants is seriously underestimated. A similar situation prevails in all the categories of farms from 10 hectares and over.

There may have been 10,031 farms in operation in Pampanga in 1903, but a much higher number of workers, mainly tenants, operated those farms.

ber of foreclosures for failure to pay taxes.⁸² And the extensive kinship ties among the landowning class must surely have generated some private system of wealth-sharing and economic security to keep its weaker members from going under.

If landowners probably looked out for their own kind, they also had a stake in the welfare of the tenants who worked their land. The upper class chose not to seek new departures in farming methods and not to change over to new crops with better commercial possibilities. By sticking cautiously to the old system of farming, wealthy landlords automatically incurred commitments to looking after their tenants, who formed an integral part of the old agricultural system. Farming methods in Pampanga and the processing of its commercial crops called for considerable labor input which the tenants supplied. In particular, the manufacturing of muscovado sugar was a highly labor-intensive activity.

The inability of farmers to move away from traditional modes of agriculture must be attributed in good part to the tenant system itself. During depressed times, when the need for change appeared most obvious, farmers did not have the capital to convert to other crops or to invest in new equipment. But most of the laborers upon whom they depended had skills geared to one kind of husbandry. To have retrained such an extensive labor force⁸³ would have required long periods of time and heavy capital risk. Moreover, the existing farming arrangements were intricately bound up with the social system in Pampanga. Ties between tenants and landlords lasted for years, even generations. In 1907 Luther Parker observed that in Pampanga tenants did not serve just as hired employees but, rather, as the dependent loyal retainers of specific landlords.⁸⁴ Even if the upper class

⁸² Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1909, p. 5; *Eighth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War*, 1907, Pt. 1, 428.

⁸³ That Pampangan landlords still clung to the tenant system is confirmed in my interviews and in a letter from N. P. Creager, Pampanga Provincial Supervisor, residing in Bacolor, to F. Lamson, Scribner, Bureau of Agriculture, August 14, 1903, BIA, 2403-27, p. 2.

⁸⁴ *Manila Times*, April 13, 1907, p. 5.

had possessed the necessary resources to modernize their labor-intensive system of agriculture, they would have risked undermining the very foundations of their society, based as it was upon a mutual dependency with the tenants. The conservative Pampangan elite of 1910 was hardly likely to take such a gamble.

Thus the descriptions of sugar farming in Pampanga written by G. E. Nesom in 1911 would have accurately reflected that industry in 1880 and 1890 as well, except that production had sunk far below the levels of the nineteenth century. Such a lack of progress was lamented by both Governor Arnedo and the writer from Lubao. Objecting to more than just the causes of stagnation mentioned above, each chided his provincemates for not experimenting, even on a small scale, with new industrial enterprises. This lack of adventurousness even showed up in the failure of Pampangans to apply for new homesteads being offered by the insular government on other islands. Between 1904 and 1911, truly harsh economic times, only forty-six people from the province signed up for this opportunity to pioneer.⁸⁵

The American regime offered insufficient incentive or stimulation to break the lethargy. The government, though taking some interest in agriculture, never devoted enough time and expenditure to that area. In 1908 the insular administration hired only one veterinarian and one agricultural inspector to look after a region that included Pampanga and thirteen other provinces!⁸⁶ Not surprisingly, these employees of the Bureau of Agriculture could do almost nothing to cope with the persistent rinderpest epidemic that plagued the Islands. The bureau could not even control the importation of diseased animals from other areas of Asia.⁸⁷ Moreover, with such a shortage of personnel, the bureau had little chance to bring information on the latest farming advances to native planters. A member of the bureau

⁸⁵ Philippine Islands, Bureau of Lands, *Annual Report of the Director of Lands for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1912* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1912), p. 39.

⁸⁶ "Information on Bureau of Agriculture Districts," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, I (1908), 12.

⁸⁷ "Common Dangerous Communicable Diseases . . .," p. 111.

stated that this lack of communication would continue to impair the chances of improving agricultural techniques in the Philippines.⁸⁸

Similarly, the Philippine Commission could be credited with only some small successes, such as the introduction of a system for the documentation of cattle ownership through branding and registering animals. Presumably these procedures served a useful function in Pampanga, since the natives enthusiastically accepted the system and even sought ways to increase penalties for noncompliance.⁸⁹ Establishing conclusively the ownership of cattle must have relieved a certain amount of friction between farmers. The Americans also sought to create a system of solid land titles. The Spaniards had proved very lax about such matters and the Philippine Commission hoped to present farmers with firm titles that would prevent future litigation and provide excellent collateral for agricultural loans. The government chose to employ the Torrens title, which gave the farmer a deed certified by Manila as to its accuracy and validity. Unfortunately, the process of obtaining such a title involved a land survey, court litigation, and a somewhat confusing registration procedure.⁹⁰ All these steps entailed spending money and dealing extensively with the machinery of government. The Pampangans, as well as other Filipinos, were unwilling to become tied up in such a system.⁹¹ Only a few farmers bothered to take advantage of this non-mandatory system, while most chose to

⁸⁸ "Introductory Remarks," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, I (1908),

14.

⁸⁹ PNA, register 4866 contains a large number of entries for carabao registrations. For sources on the enthusiasm for cattle registration, see Henson, p. 29; *Cablenews-American*, March 26, 1909, p. 1; *Manila Times*, January 22, 1902, p. 8.

⁹⁰ For a full account of the complex process to register a Torrens title see: U.S. Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Official Handbook: Description of the Philippines* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1903), Pt. 1, 131-137.

⁹¹ On the failure of the Torrens system in the Philippines see, Karl J. Pelzer, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1948), p. 109. Pampangans seemed to have especially little interest in these titles. All the notarial registers record only ten cases of Pampangans seeking a Torrens title.

rely on the traditional mechanisms for recognizing ownership of land.

Yet another attempt to assist agriculture brought the completion by 1910 of two branches of the Manila-Dagupan Railroad, one to Magalang and one to Floridablanca, which extended modern transportation into the heart of Pampangan sugar country. But the failure to rectify other farming problems and the shortage of good communications within municipalities along the tracks limited the benefits to be derived from good access to outside areas. Not until other conditions in the province improved did the extension of railroad track exert a positive influence on economic life.

In 1910, in his first optimistic report of the decade on the status of farming in Pampanga, Governor Arnedo observed that the completion of a large dike (named after himself) along the Rio Grande de la Pampanga had reduced by a goodly margin the dangers from flooding. Farmers had begun to extend their area of cultivation once again as the price of sugar reached ₱8.00 per picul (as compared to ₱3.50 in 1906). The high interest rates that had hurt farmers so badly in the preceding years were going down, due, according to Arnedo, to the access of Pampangans to loans from the recently established Philippine Agricultural Bank.⁹² The depression seemed to have run its course.

An article in the *Manila Times* confirmed Arnedo's findings.⁹³ Pampanga led in sugar production for Luzon, and farmers were choking the rivers with extra bundles of sugar cane cuttings in preparation for a season of expanded planting. Pampangans obviously wished to profit from the 30 percent rise in the price of sugar that had taken place in the preceding six

⁹² Arnedo may well have overemphasized the importance of the Philippine Agricultural Bank. According to one source [Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1917), p. 371], in its first few years, the bank lent out very little money because of the problem of too many farmers having defective land titles which could not serve as good collateral under bank rules. More likely, the general improvement in the economic cycle, due to changes in American tariff policy, helped lower the interest rates in Pampanga.

⁹³ *Manila Times*, March 21, 1910, p. 6.

months. This advance in price reflected the recent change in American tariff policy toward the Philippines. In August 1909, Congress had passed the Payne Tariff Bill which permitted 300,000 tons of Philippine sugar to enter the United States without duty. For the first time in almost two decades Philippine sugar farmers had access to a large market where they could favorably compete. In less than a year the salutary effect of this change showed up in increased farming activity in Pampanga. More than any other factor the new tariff bill reversed the trend of hard times. Still, production in 1910 only reached about one-quarter of what it was in 1895. The real influence of the Payne Bill came during the second decade of American rule.

Pampangan society from 1901 to 1910

The transfer of the provincial capital from Bacolor to San Fernando symbolized, in a real sense, the kind of changes that began in Pampanga in the late nineteenth century and were extended through the first decade of American rule. Following the shift of government offices, a native of Bacolor, commenting on his town, made this observation:

What Boston is to the United States, Bacolor is to Pampanga. When San Fernando became the capital, thus robbing Bacolor of her right to that name, she could not fill the offices without going to Bacolor, the center of culture and education for the province, and now we have natives of Bacolor serving as municipal treasurers in Arayat, Candaba, Porac, Bacolor and Santa Rita, while several municipal doctors and lawyers in the various towns of Pampanga are natives of Bacolor.

The only paper published in Pampanga is published here, and the first School of Arts and Trades ever established under the Spanish government in the Philippine Islands is now being repaired by a native contractor of Bacolor at a cost of ₱12,000, most of which money was contributed by the people of this town.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ *Manila Times*, October 19, 1906, p. 4.

Bacolor possessed a unique significance in Pampangan history. One of the eleven settlements predating the days of the conquistadores, the town subsequently became the political and administrative center of Pampanga during three centuries of Spanish rule. Bacolor had the additional honor of having served for a short while as the capital of the Philippine Islands. And still, in 1904, this municipality stood as the heart of Pampangan cultural life and tradition. Even after losing its political preeminence, the town continued to maintain its prestige, and political candidates from there still proved particularly successful in provincial elections.

By contrast, San Fernando came into existence only in the middle of the eighteenth century as a result of a Spanish administrative decision. The town had few distinguishing events in its past and in 1904 was scarcely larger in population than Bacolor.⁹⁵ But the Manila-Dagupan Railroad passed through San Fernando, connecting it to both the capital city and the vast sugar regions in the northern part of the province and in Tarlac. Hence, the town became an important transportation center for a population increasingly committed to commercial sugar culture and more desirous of contact with an urban marketplace and cosmopolitan setting. These pragmatic interests took precedence over any sentiment to preserve the glories of the Pampangan past.⁹⁶

During the early years of the twentieth century, manifestations of a distinctive Pampangan culture still flourished and encouraged a sense of separate identity among Pampangans. Capampangan provided the major distinguishing feature of Pampangan society and, over time, natives of the province had created a sizable body of literature in that language. During Holy Week, Pampangans read and chanted their own version of the Passion of Christ in the native dialect. From Spanish

⁹⁵ The census of 1903 [II, 131] lists San Fernando's total population at 13,556, third largest in Pampanga, and Bacolor's at 13,493, fourth largest.

⁹⁶ An article in the *Manila Times*, January 14, 1902, p. 1 specifically listed the railroad as the chief factor in determining that the capital should be transferred to San Fernando.

sources native writers adapted medieval romances into both free verse poems (*curiru*) and *moro-moro* dramas (*cumidia* in Capampangan) concerning the struggles between Moors and Christians. These plays, along with Pampangan versions of musical shows called *zarzuelas*, constituted the chief stage entertainment for the people of the province at the turn of the century. About the same time three native playwrights, the popular Juan Crisostomo Soto of Bacolor and Jacinto and Aurelio Tolentino of Guagua, were writing original plays in Capampangan for more sophisticated audiences. Other writers produced novels and poems in the vernacular as well as material for a number of short-lived Pampangan newspaper ventures.⁹⁷

Pampangan cooking also differed noticeably from that of other groups in the Philippines. The Pampangans, although using the same basic meats and vegetables, tended to prepare spicier dishes, such as curries, which were foreign to the taste of most Christian Filipinos.⁹⁸ Generally speaking, Pampangans produced more exotic, imaginative, and fancy foods, including a wide variety of pastries and confections, which set them apart from their neighbors.⁹⁹ One could certainly speak of a distinctive Pampangan cuisine.

⁹⁷ Information for these comments on Capampangan literature comes largely from Mariano A. Henson, *The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns* (4th ed. rev.; Angeles, Pampanga: By the author, 1965), pp. 188–192. See also, Juan S. Aguas, *Juan Crisostomo Soto and Pampangan Drama* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1963); Ely V. Javillonar, “The Significance of Mariano Proceso Pabalan in Capampangan Dramatic Literature” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of the Philippines, 1955). For a fairly extensive list showing the varieties and types of Capampangan literature see Ocampo, pp. 26–32. The most complete list of Capampangan-language newspapers can be found in Ricardo E. Galang, “Ethnographic Study of the Pampangans,” (unpublished MS in the possession of Mr. Mauro Garcia, Manila, 1940), pp. 205–206.

⁹⁸ For a description of the basic ingredients in Pampangan cooking see Henson, *Pampanga*, pp. 192–198. Mr. Henson has also written and published two books containing recipes: *Tastes and Ways of a Pampango* and *Cuisinang Capampangan* (in Capampangan), both available at the Philippine Education Company in Manila.

⁹⁹ These remarks represent my own assessment of Pampangan cooking. Travelers to the Philippines would be well advised, and I think pleased, to try for themselves the delicious dishes prepared at Pampangan restaurants in Manila and in the province.

But in other important aspects of culture, such as music, costume, art, and architecture, little in Pampangan style stood out as distinctively its own. Three hundred years of Spanish colonialism and increasing contact with the Tagalog regions, especially from the middle of the nineteenth century on, had helped eliminate whatever differences had originally existed. The growing intercourse between the Pampangan elite and the elite from other language groups undoubtedly hastened the movement toward a common Filipino culture. The process of blending, by no means completed in 1910,¹⁰⁰ generated extraprovincial ties and interests for many people from the province. By 1903 over 17,000 Capampangan-speaking people already lived in Manila and the surrounding Tagalog provinces. The sense of provincial solidarity in Pampanga showed signs of breaking down.

Internally, the defeat of the Spaniards, coupled with subsequent American administrative policy, resulted in a weakening of one of the most stable props of traditional Pampangan society. The power of the local parish priest over his community was diminished by the doctrine of the separation of church and state. In the nineteenth century, the parish priest had enjoyed the dual prestige of being a member of the colonial establishment as well as the spiritual guide of his parishioners. He had thus exercised both civil and religious authority in his town and along with the few Spanish civil officials and the native elite, occupied an integral place in the local power structure. The arrangement had had special advantages for the members of the governing class, giving political power in a unique way the extra buttress of moral persuasion and social sanction. Because of the priest's special knowledge of his parishioners, governmental officials had unusual access to the feelings of the gov-

¹⁰⁰ As noted in chapter 1, a separate sense of identity still exists among Pampangans. The same identifiers—language, literature, and cooking—flourish although to a somewhat lesser degree. Even today, a substantial number of Pampangans, mostly in the barrios, only speak Capampangan.

erned—their wishes, complaints, and aspirations. And, finally, the locus of authority was diffused among three institutions: the church, the European colonial bureaucracy, and the native ruling class. Hostile feelings resulting from governmental neglect, abuses, or officials' malfeasance could be diverted to the single foreign priest in a town without jeopardizing social unity within the native sector. The parish curate, though he shared his authority with the native elite, made an often convenient symbol for all of local government.

In the twentieth century, Catholicism still dominated religious life in Pampanga, as the overwhelming number of natives remained loyal, at least nominally, to the church.¹⁰¹ Many children of the elite still received their education at parochial schools, and two Catholic colleges were established in the province during the early years of American government.¹⁰² Moreover, the church hierarchy in Manila actively supported parish functions in the province. In 1905, for example, Archbishop Hardy administered confirmation to children in Pampanga.¹⁰³

But with the advent of American rule the political component of priestly authority faded away. Any one curate might still have exerted his influence on individual officials, but the days of direct religious interference in governmental affairs had ended. The victory of Governor Joven in the cemetery crisis and the official toleration accorded dissenting sects offered just two indications of the changing times. By 1910 priests in some towns of the province even found themselves harassed by members of the Protestant and Aglipayan congregations, who went unpunished by the government for their acts.

If Pampanga's parish priests lost political power as a result of American policy, they also lacked the political and social

¹⁰¹ In 1918 almost 95 percent of the population belonged to the Catholic faith [*Census, 1918*, II, 106, 394–395].

¹⁰² "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Santa Rita . . . Barrio San Matias," p. 1; Henson, *Angeles*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ Gathonton, "Datos historicos . . .," p. 14.

prestige enjoyed by their Spanish predecessors of racial affinity with the colonial governing body. After 1901 the curates all belonged to the native population of the Islands, frequently Pampanga itself.¹⁰⁴ The available names of those who served in the parishes suggest that many of them came from prominent Pampangan families. Hence, whatever standing an individual priest might have, above that of his office, derived solely from his membership in the local elite.

This relationship between the priest and the upper class also created a new situation in Pampangan society. As the distinct image of the parish priest became blurred by his origins, the native officeholder emerged as the major authority figure, responsible for the successes and failures of government. American colonial personnel, playing an ever diminishing role in Pampangan affairs, never seriously competed with elite officials for the role of symbolic leader of the local community. At both the municipal and provincial levels individual Pampangans became identified with governmental administration in a way previously reserved for only selected Spanish priests and officials.

The historical literature tends to confirm, in an impressionistic manner, this new role of native leadership. Eighteenth and nineteenth century sources rarely noted the names of native officials or specified their individual achievements. Only the friars were occasionally singled out for recognition for their hospitality, their missionary labors, or their work of supervising the construction of churches. With rare exception, the Pampangan principal remained anonymous.¹⁰⁵

By contrast, materials, both primary and secondary, written

¹⁰⁴ The only lists, mostly incomplete, of names of Pampangan parish priests can be found in the Luther Parker Collection histories of Mabalacat, Masantol, Minalin, Porac, San Fernando, San Simon, and Santa Rita. Many, but not all, of the priests have Pampangan upper class names.

¹⁰⁵ Printed sources prior to 1900 yielded the specific names of only two Pampangan principals: Don Juan Macapagal, who helped suppress the Pampangan revolt of 1660, and Capitan Joaquin Arnedo Cruz, the famous host of Barrio Sulipan, Apalit.

in the twentieth century often included the names of Pampangan officials in connection with events occurring in the province. For example, the town histories in the Luther Parker Collection, all drafted around 1910, frequently linked the completion of various public works and educational projects with the tenure in office of a particular municipal president. Although many of these projects were initiated at the insular level, the impression lingered that the named official alone was responsible for the work done. Newspapers, secondary accounts, and such native sources as the Historical Data Papers usually mentioned the names of leading Pampangan contributors, especially elected officials, to community undertakings and charitable works. Reporters almost invariably recorded the names of the most important official guests attending the grand openings of new public projects. Furthermore, the practice of naming structures after local leaders, such as the Arnedo Dike and the Don Juan Lagman School in Minalin, seems to have developed only in the twentieth century.

The Parker histories offer another kind of clue as to the new status among the Pampangan leadership. In every town history a list existed containing the full name and years of tenure of all *gobernadorcillos* for as far back as the municipal records went. On the other hand, only eight histories gave even a partial listing of the men who served as parish priests in the Spanish and American periods, and just one of those lists presented the dates of their service. Finally, the history of San Fernando possessed the only record of Spanish governors of Pampanga.¹⁰⁶ That list went back only to 1812 and, for many of the governors, gave only their last name.

While the elite of Pampanga moved into the power vacuum created by the expulsion of the Spanish friars, they also continued to perform the economic and social functions demanded of people in their position in provincial society. In the face of new population pressures, a few enterprising landowners led

¹⁰⁶ Ocampo, pp. 9-10.

others into unused areas of the province and created new barrio settlements.¹⁰⁷ The elite made voluntary contributions for public expenses not covered by governmental appropriations and supported a variety of cultural projects. The Henson family of Angeles took special interest in the municipal band, which won a Philippine-wide competition at the Manila Fair in 1909. Ceferino Joven, an important patron of many projects in Pampanga, personally financed the popular zarzuelas in Bacolor between 1903 and 1910. And Don Baltazar Luciano crusaded for the construction of a permanent stage in the town of Candaba.¹⁰⁸

A new phenomenon, town and provincial social clubs, which sprang up in the early American years, demonstrated how the native upper class flourished under the new regime. These organizations, exclusively for the elite, provided among other things an opportunity for young single adults to socialize with and meet others of their same age and class. Members also used the clubs to organize theatrical productions in Capampangan and patriotic celebrations. For example, over the years, the activities of *El Sociedad Hormiga de Hierro* (The Iron Ant Society) of Lubao included the sponsorship of an annual ball to celebrate the organization's founding day, the arrangement of an annual Rizal Day pageant, the preparation of receptions and dinners for notable guests like member and Assemblyman Monico Mercado and Governor-General Forbes, and the presentation of plays by members at various barrio fiestas.¹⁰⁹ Other towns had similar clubs with such names as *La Gente Alegre de San Fernando* (The Merry Folks), *La Compania Sabina de Bacolor* (The Sabine Society), and the *Circulo Juvenil Candabeño* (Candaba Youth Group). In 1908, members of the upper class created a province-wide social club, called *Fraternidad*

¹⁰⁷ "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis, Barrio San Isidro," p. 24; "Historical and Cultural Life of Masantol, Province of Pampanga," HDP, p. 64.

¹⁰⁸ On elite support for local cultural affairs see Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 28, 30-31; Henson, *Pampanga*, p. 188; Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, pp. 58, 59.

¹⁰⁹ Fajardo, pp. 2-6.

de Pampanga, which held its inaugural festivities at San Fernando High School. On that occasion the speakers were Assemblyman Marcelino Aguas and defeated provincial board candidate Modesto Joaquin.

These social clubs, though politically harmless, represented a breakthrough for members of the Pampangan upper class. Spanish repression in the late nineteenth century discouraged all native associations except those sanctioned by the Catholic Church.¹¹⁰ But in the increased permissiveness of the new era the Pampangan elite could make business contacts and discuss current matters of importance in a socially conducive setting. The clubs undoubtedly facilitated useful family alliances, bestowed recognition on the socially arrived, and publicized the newly achieved standing of the native upper class. Most meetings of these clubs were reported in the pages of local newspapers.¹¹¹

In the same era, influential Pampangans formed another type of organization, somewhat different in its purposes from the purely social clubs. These other organizations, much more selective in their membership, had political as well as social overtones. They were also generally more secretive about their activities. Whether each town had such a group is unclear and information exists on only two of them. The Modern Party, later known as the Modern Society, was established in Candaba in late 1902. The founders included Attorney Pedro Evangelista, who became municipal president in 1908 and who took an active role in the creation of the Nacionalista party in Candaba. The Modern Society seems to have served two functions: as a springboard for a more formal political body and as a center of opposition, part social and part political, to a group involved in Progresista politics headed by the municipal president in 1907, Policarpio Castor. Indeed, the lists of elected town officials from

¹¹⁰ Felipe Buencamino, Sr., "Sixty Years of Philippine History," *Philippine Historical Bulletin*, XIII (1969, special pre-print), 4-19.

¹¹¹ For example, an undated clipping from *El Imparcial* (ca. October 1908) in the Luther Parker Collection, gives the minutes of a meeting of *Fraternidad de Pampanga* and gives a detailed list of all those appointed to the society's various social committees.

1907 on indicated that the struggle for political control between these two groups seesawed back and forth for a number of years.¹¹²

In Angeles, the *Union Angelina* numbered among its membership the most important professionals and some of the biggest sugar farmers, men like Jose P. ("Don Pepe") Henson, Dr. Clemente Dayrit, and Marcelo Mesina. One of its later members, Mr. Juan Nepomuceno, recalled that belonging to the *Union Angelina* carried more prestige than being elected municipal councillor. His brother, Ricardo, called the members "town elders," while a Pampangan teacher of those years described them as the "big shots" of Angeles.¹¹³

In the early years of American rule, the group met with the parish priest to settle town matters informally and to choose candidates for town offices. Apparently, in the days before full partisan politics, selection by the *Union* meant sure victory in the election. Later on, this elite organization still held meetings, conducted in Spanish, and exerted a social and political influence on town affairs. Not until 1925 did it dissolve because of a conflict with the parish priest. The *Union Angelina* thus represented a kind of transitional institution bridging the gap between the religious confraternities and sodalities of the nineteenth century and the more secular social and political organizations of the twentieth. It was a useful mechanism for the recruitment of leadership during the period of adjustment from one colonial system to another.

The increase in social organizations likely marks the beginning of a sizable exodus of landowning families from the barrios to the poblaciones of Pampanga. This migration, only casually noticed heretofore,¹¹⁴ has proven difficult to date precisely. But

¹¹² Candaba Notebook; Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, pp. 56, 58-63.

¹¹³ Interview with Mr. Juan Nepomuceno, Angeles, Pampanga, June 21, 1964; Interview with Mr. Ricardo Nepomuceno, Angeles, Pampanga, June 14, 1964; Interview with Mr. Pedro Pelayo, Angeles, Pampanga, June 14, 1964.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos; Interview with Professor H. Otley Beyer, Manila, June 9, 1964.

events in the first decade of American rule created a favorable atmosphere for such a movement. There were many more opportunities to participate in municipal affairs, but government business had to be carried on at the poblacion. The best of the new facilities inaugurated by the Americans first came into use in the town centers. Artesian wells, the most advanced public schools, paved roads leading to other towns and to cities—all clustered near the town plazas. The latest inventions such as lantern slides and moving pictures, cylinder record players, the commercial telegraph, the telephone, the typewriter, and the automobile were initially seen and used by people of the poblaciones.¹¹⁵

At first many families who could afford it took the expedient of maintaining two residences, one in town and one near their farm lands and tenants.¹¹⁶ But the orientation of the landlord class began gradually to shift. The younger generation joined the social clubs and found other interests such as sports. By 1906 Pampanga High School fielded a baseball team to play against a rival nine from Bulacan. A few years later the Bacolor A and T girls' basketball team won the championship of Luzon.¹¹⁷

Education presented children of the elite with many alternatives to the traditional life of the landowning class. The American concern with public education led to a proliferation of new schools, public and private. Students gained easier access to training at all levels from the primary grades through university.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ Luz E. Sangalang, "Survey of the Communities of Pampanga as a Basis for the Evaluation of Subject Matter Content in General Science" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1956), p. 59; Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 27, 30, 31; *Manila Times*, September 11, 1901; March 27, 1907, p. 5.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos.

¹¹⁷ *Manila Times*, December 18, 1906, p. 6; February 8, 1912, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ The opening of the University of the Philippines in 1908 greatly increased the opportunities for students to acquire sound professional training in the Islands. For a brief history of the University's early years see, The Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), pp. 609-611.

With that training went greater opportunities for new and interesting employment. Jobs opened up at all levels of government in all three branches—executive, judicial, and legislative.¹¹⁹ Given the shortage of specialized American personnel, native professionals in all fields were needed. And government work often meant living in Manila. To many children in Pampanga such careers must undoubtedly have appeared more desirable than that of managing a farm in the barrios.

The Philippine Commission set up a special program in 1903 to send promising Filipino students with a secondary education to America for advanced study. Upon their return these so-called *pensionados* owed the government a year of service for every year spent abroad. The program lasted for seven years and, in terms of its results, was one of the most successful of the American regime. Of the more than two hundred pensionados in the program, many became outstanding leaders in government service, law, education, medicine, and politics.¹²⁰ Eleven of these students came originally from Pampanga. Sufficient biographical data remains for seven, all of whom found their permanent work in Manila. This trend stands in marked contrast to that of the students who had gone to Madrid in the nineteenth century. Men like Dr. Francisco Liongson and Jose Alejandrino returned to their province and pursued their careers there. The change from the Spanish to the American regimes clearly

¹¹⁹ For a description of the opportunities in government service open to native Filipinos under the American regime see, Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), pp. 162–186.

¹²⁰ The most comprehensive study of the pensionado program was made by its originator and supervisor William Alexander Sutherland in *Not by Might* (Las Cruces, New Mexico: Southwest Publishing, 1953). See also Ramon C. Aquino, *A Chance to Die* (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix Publishing House, 1967), pp. 14–22, for the story of the American educational experience of Pampanga's most famous pensionado, Jose Abad Santos, later Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court. See also Celia Bocobo Olivar, "First Pensionados and Their Contributions" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1950), pp. 5–7.

created different possibilities and options for the most educated Pampangans.¹²¹

Migration of the upper class from the barrios, and to a lesser degree from the province, seems to have constituted by 1910 no more than the beginning of a tendency which became more accentuated in later years. Certainly the records revealed no threat of absentee landlordism between 1901 and 1910. Nevertheless the growing social, intellectual, and emotional involvement of a portion of the elite in nonagricultural matters must have weakened somewhat the noneconomic bonds between the tenant and landlord classes. The social ties between tenants and landowners had already begun to diminish in the nineteenth century due to the greater emphasis on commercial agriculture. Consequently, relationships between the two classes depended more and more on economic expediency. Events in the early twentieth century could only have encouraged, not reversed, this direction. The landowners may well have carried their tenants through the hard years but, to an increasing degree, merely because their (i.e. the landlords') livelihood depended on the survival of their work force. The tenants could only hold on until times improved.

Benefiting least from the programs of the American regime were the lower class Pampangans, to whom the chief new avenues of mobility, politics, and education were effectively denied. The restrictive suffrage requirements kept them from having any role in the running of government, while inadequate attention to the problems of public instruction in the Philippines prevented them from learning new skills.

The first public schools, and usually the best, where the American teachers did most of their work, were set up in the poblaciones—beyond the reach of tenant families living in out-

¹²¹ A few students like Dr. Jose Tayag of Angeles returned to take up careers in their home province. After studying at the University of Paris and the Mayo Clinic, Tayag set up practice with Dr. Clemente Dayrit [Henson, *Angeles*, p. 31]. Tayag, however, was one of the exceptions to prove the rule.

lying barrios.¹²² Where barrio schools existed, they often came much later and lacked sufficient financing. Poor teachers, some with only a fourth grade education, taught children in temporary buildings on a sporadic basis.¹²³ The children of the poor could not be kept from leaving school during the harvest season. Furthermore, the barrio schools never went beyond the fourth grade. As late as 1910 only eight intermediate schools (grades V to VII) operated in all of Pampanga. In that year almost 95 percent of all students regularly attending public schools belonged in the primary grades.¹²⁴ Only the privileged few, most from the upper class, went on to the more advanced training needed for better jobs.

Not all of the lower class working force engaged in tenant farming. An unspecified number found part-time or full-time employment in several subsidiary industries in the province. Very small, probably one-family, concerns turned out much of the wide variety of ware manufactured. Only thirty-six establishments, with an average capitalization of ₱7,764 yearly produced more than ₱1,000 worth of goods.¹²⁵ Output from all types of concerns included alcohol, shoes and slippers, finished lumber, lime from oyster shells, pottery for household and farming use, candy, soap, stringed musical instruments, carriages and carts, mats, leadware, and ironware.¹²⁶ Much of this production found immediate use in the province, either serving the household needs of the population or the demands of agriculture. For example, farmers employed the clay pilones and lime directly in the processing of sugar, and the carts and ironware fulfilled a variety of purposes on the farms.

¹²² Even in barrios fairly close to the poblacion the children of tenant farmers rarely attended school [Interview with Mr. Luciano Balajadia, Magalang, Pampanga, July 5, 1964].

¹²³ *The 1964 Masantol Yearbook* (Masantol, Pampanga: n.p., 1964), p. 51; "Historical Data of the Town of San Fernando, Pampanga, Barrio Baliti," HDP, p. 29.

¹²⁴ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, pp. 4-5.

¹²⁵ *1903 Census*, IV, 508-509.

¹²⁶ Galang, pp. 16-20; Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife* (New York: D. Appleton, 1908), pp. 52-53; Simpao, pp. 1-3.

The prosperity of these industries depended heavily on general conditions in agriculture in the province, so that manufacturing work did not offer a practical alternative for tenant farmers during the hard times of the early twentieth century. Wages for nonagricultural help stayed at about the same level over the ten-year period, and Pampanga experienced little or no industrial growth.¹²⁷

Thus, as traditional Pampangan society began to alter under the impact of outside forces, only members of the elite derived any benefit from the new conditions of life in the province. Increasingly, they participated in a new Filipino society, more cosmopolitan in its orientation and representing a blend of Spanish, American, and urban Tagalog cultures. The lot of the peasants remained unchanged or even worsened during the years of depression. Furthermore, the access of most barrio folk to the new culture, and their understanding of the changes brought by the new regime, were sharply circumscribed by their social, political, and geographic isolation from the centers of administration. The elite accepted the twentieth century while the peasants stayed mired in the nineteenth.

A sharp line separated, as it had done for some time, Pampangan society into two classes. The distinction between landowner and landless, the latter primarily tenants of the former, carried with it a grossly unequal division of social, economic, and political rewards. On each side of the line obvious gradations of standing existed. Some tenants, capable and hard-working, possessed sturdy nipa homes, enough food, the security

¹²⁷ The wages of laborers in Pampanga's biggest industries in 1903 average ₱.65 daily [*1903 Census*]. But those working for smaller concerns may well have earned more. The Pampanga supervisor in 1903 estimated that workers received daily wages of between ₱.50 and ₱1.50 [Letter of N. P. Creager]. The Bureau of Labor in 1910 placed the pay scale at between ₱.89 and ₱.98 per day [Philippine Islands, Bureau of Labor, *First Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor, Fiscal Year 1910* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1911), pp. 132, 148]. Hence, average pay went up little, if at all, over the course of the period. Unfortunately, no comparative figures exist to indicate whether this wage stability meant a change in the standard of living of Pampangan workers. See also, *Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga*, 1909, pp. 7-8.

of a good casamac contract, and the respect of their barrio peers. A few might even own tiny plots of land, the income from which, however, they supplemented by laboring as tenants for bigger landowners. Other tenants (the percentage is impossible to determine but it was probably small at this time) lived poorly, near starvation, moving frequently from barrio to barrio. Still, all tenants faced the yearly problem of borrowing through the casamac system, which kept them from accruing sufficient cash and capital goods to change their status. They might supplement their income with extra work in the peripheral industries of the province, but it was rarely enough to bridge the gap between them and the landowners.

Among the upper class ranged small landowners, those with only a few hectares, and *ilustrados* with holdings in the hundreds of hectares. They all lived by managing their property and having others do the manual work for them. The gap between the smaller of these landlords and the *ilustrados* was wide, but the ownership of land was the minimum necessary for participation in the social clubs and political activities of the province. The poorer of them might only rise to barrio captain while the richer might aspire to provincial and national offices. Yet office went along with status and that was achieved exclusively through landholding. The only exceptions were the professionals such as doctors and lawyers, plus some school teachers, rice mill owners, and prosperous native merchants. Even so, many in the latter category already owned land or acquired it rapidly. Outside of this group were Chinese merchants, most teachers, lower rank civil servants, and small native entrepreneurs. While they might enjoy some economic security, they could not join the elite social clubs or aspire to political office. Pampangan society was basically an agricultural one and to participate in the mainstream of barrio life or to belong to the ranks of the privileged required being a tenant or a landowner respectively. Tenants and landowners were traditionally linked by ties of mutual interest and interaction, social and economic, and together they constituted most of Pampangan society.

Yet, almost imperceptibly, the ties between the upper and

lower classes were weakening as their interests drew apart. The bond of economic dependency bore to a greater degree the burden of holding the two groups together. That bond continued firm even during (or perhaps because of) the years of agricultural crisis. Only a single case hinted that tensions festered in the structure of Pampangan society. But the case of Felipe Salvador and his followers, almost by its uniqueness in Pampangan history, assumed special significance for what it revealed about the latent tensions within the society.

In the 1890s Felipe Salvador organized, in the vicinity of Apalit, a religious sect called the *Santa Iglesia* (Holy Church). This sect, like many other millennial folk religious movements in the Philippines, borrowed much of its organization and terminology from the Catholic Church.¹²⁸ Salvador assumed the title of pontiff. The creed of the *Santa Iglesia* had strongly anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic overtones and Salvador and his disciples joined the insurrection shortly after hostilities began in 1896.¹²⁹

During the war against Spain, Salvador enhanced his personal reputation. He became a colonel in the army of the Philippine Republic and at one point in 1898, when the Spaniards had been driven from the province, led 500 of his followers on a triumphant march through the streets of Candaba. In 1900, after the Americans had cleared Pampanga of the regular Philippine army, he returned to the Apalit-San Luis area and began

¹²⁸ This analysis arose from several helpful conversations with Professor David Sturtevant on Salvador and Philippine peasant movements; his forthcoming monograph on this subject promises to be a definitive work. See also his "Guardia de Honor: Revitalization within the Revolution," *Asian Studies*, IV (August 1966), 342-352. The story of Felipe Salvador can be found in a wide variety of sources, chief among them being the published annual reports of the Director of the Philippine Constabulary from 1905 to 1910. See also *Manila Times*, January 18, 1900, p. 1; January 27, 1900, p. 2; January 30, 1900, p. 1; April 15, 1912, p. 1; Casimiro Viray, "Historia del San Luis de la provincia de la Pampanga, Islas Filipinas," LPC, p. 20 n; "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis, Barrio Santa Monica," p. 20; Forbes, I, 229 n; Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe*, p. 49.

¹²⁹ Salvador built his *Santa Iglesia* upon the ruins of a small supposedly revolutionary society in Apalit founded in 1893 by a certain Mr. Gabino. Gabino was shot by the Spaniards and his group temporarily disbanded, until Salvador brought them together again in 1894.

a kind of guerrilla campaign, using the Candaba Swamp as a safe base.

Salvador's activities differed sharply from those of the other contemporary guerrilla units under Hizon and Alejandrino. His followers, by one estimate over 2,000 in number, all belonged to the *Santa Iglesia*, and he spent much of his time in religious work. The *Santa Iglesia* now had a high priestess as well as a pontiff, and Salvador raised money by charging admission to his church services. The Philippine Catholic clergy became alarmed by the growing popularity of the new sect and excommunicated all its members. Salvador even considered for a time taking the matter of Catholic harassment of his disciples to the American authorities. Eventually, in 1902, the Philippine Constabulary captured him in Pampanga, and the courts convicted him of sedition. He managed to escape from prison and returned to the Central Luzon area.

For the next eight years the *Santa Iglesia* flourished in the rural parts of the provinces of Pangasinan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, and Bulacan. From his hidden headquarters on Mt. Arayat, Salvador went out to minister to his followers, telling them of his flights into the heavens and predicting a time of floods and fires that would inaugurate a reign of "gold and jewels for the faithful."¹³⁰ Further, when the new day arrived and he headed the government of the Philippines, Salvador promised to redistribute the land to members of the *Santa Iglesia*.

The active membership of the *Santa Iglesia* reached several thousand by 1910, with most support coming from the Tagalog provinces to the north and east of Pampanga.¹³¹ Pampangan adherents lived mostly in barrios in the shadow of Mt. Arayat and on the edges of the Candaba Swamp. Salvador and his apostles could easily proselytize these areas while using the

¹³⁰ Philippine Islands, Philippine Constabulary, *Annual Report of the Director of Constabulary, 1905-06* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1906), P. 4.

¹³¹ Forbes, I, 228, noted that the *Santa Iglesia* had the most support in Nueva Ecija.

swamp and mountain as hideouts from their pursuers. Although the Salvadoristas do not seem to have committed any crimes in Pampanga, they did clash with the police elsewhere.¹³² The Philippine Constabulary, fearing its revolutionary potential, diligently sought to quell the movement. Salvador's connection with the Philippine Insurrection and the inflammatory nature of his program made him too much of a threat to public order in the eyes of both American and native officials.

On July 24, 1910, Salvador was captured in San Luis in a remote barrio in the Candaba Swamp. His apprehension came about due to the combined undercover work of agents from Manila, Governor Arnedo's office, and the San Luis Municipal Police. He was executed on April 15, 1912 in Manila, and the *Santa Iglesia* quickly disappeared thereafter.

The major significance of Felipe Salvador in Pampangan history did not spring from his relationship to the revolutionary past. He had certainly enlisted in Aguinaldo's army and, after his trial and execution, some nationalists even referred to him as a hero and martyr in the cause of Philippine freedom. But Salvador had little concern either for the politics of independence or for the politicians who hovered around that issue. Rather, he spoke to the politically disfranchised about religious and social matters out of keeping with nationalist intentions.

Nor was Salvador important because he or his *Santa Iglesia* altered in any way the structure of Pampangan society. His adherents in the province never challenged the establishment by force of arms, and they did not seek to form separate utopian communities. Always a minority in Pampanga, they remained passive and anonymous under the rule of the traditional order.

Instead, Salvador's significance came from the fact that the acceptance of his movement by many Pampangans indicated a growing weakness in the bonds between the classes in Pampangan society. The *Santa Iglesia* was a product of social and

¹³² Only in 1910, when members were being hotly pursued by the constabulary, did they resort to some theft in Pampanga [Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1910, p. 6].

political change and economic hard times. The "pontiff" promised barrio folks relief from their sufferings in a future time when land and wealth would be theirs. They only had to wait, to believe, and to support the Holy Church. To this point the *Santa Iglesia* differed little from messianic movements all over Southeast Asia.¹³³ But the *Santa Iglesia* was the first such movement in recorded history to attract a following of any size in Pampanga. For the first time a group of peasants did not accept the guidance and support of the landowning class to tide them through a period of change and economic depression. They turned to a new leader, a mystic who promised among other things a redistribution of land.

The exact number who tacitly supported Salvador cannot be measured accurately. The Philippine Constabulary took an interest only in those actively defying the law, of whom there were few in Pampanga. But Salvador traveled around a sizable area of Pampanga for eight years, from 1902 to 1910, without being reported by the people of the barrios. Government officials could not enlist their help in his capture. In 1906, Governor Arnedo made the following statement which revealed the nature of the backing Salvador received:

It is also a very regrettable fact, however, that the inhabitants of the barrios and places frequented by Felipe Salvador's people do not volunteer information of their presence to the authorities. When asked why they do not furnish such information, these inhabitants, who are rude, ignorant, and superstitious folk, deny having seen or heard anything, which is not surprising, considering their belief that the giving of such information is a sin, as they believe Felipe Salvador to be surrounded by a halo of sanctity.¹³⁴

The year before Salvador's capture, the Director of Constabulary supplied this information on the popularity of Salvador:

¹³³ For a descriptive anatomy of such movements see Harry J. Benda, "Peasant Movements in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Asian Studies*, III (December 1965), 420-434.

¹³⁴ *Seventh Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906*, Pt. 1, 413-414.

Felipe Salvador, the well-known bandit leader . . . who has been lurking in the low and swampy regions of Nueva Ecija or neighboring provinces around Mt. Arayat, showed considerable activity last spring after having been long quiet. The people of whole barrios, minor officials and all, joined him, and a large gathering was formed on Mt. Arayat . . . Strenuous efforts were put forth by many Constabulary detachments from the near-by provinces, but they were unable to locate or capture Salvador, who was aided practically by the whole population . . .¹³⁵

His arrest the next year came about totally through the efforts of the police, not through any betrayal by the peasantry.

The occurrence of a movement like the *Santa Iglesia* called attention to the fact that Pampanga had become a society in uneven transformation. The American colonial program drew the upper class along the road toward a modern Western orientation while stranding the lower class within the confines of their traditional life. The new regime thus speeded up a process of change which began in Spanish times. During the second decade of American rule new forces further accelerated the rate of change.

¹³⁵ Philippine Islands, Philippine Constabulary, *Annual Report of the Director of Constabulary, 1909-1910* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), pp. 5-6.

The fact . . . that the kasama share system in the Philippines is as much social as economic in its origin must be kept constantly in mind.

Hugo Miller

8

Prologue to Unrest

DURING THE second ten years of American occupation, the colonial government relinquished much of its local supervisory power to native officials. The result was a Filipinization of administrative values as well as of the personnel in the civil service. Native officials, including Pampangans, became freer to shape their society as they saw fit. And the use of power over the affairs of society, exercised through the bureaucracy and through increasingly influential and effective political organizations, proved a diverting as well as challenging task. The Pampangan elite found their attention ever more focused on affairs connected with the central government in Manila.

Economically Pampanga benefited from improved market conditions and from the opening of two modern sugar centrals, which launched a new agricultural age. The elite discovered multiple ways to profit as they adapted to the new era. For the tenants the situation was not so promising. Tied to their traditional roles in agriculture, the aparceros found the old casa-mac-landlord relationship, the basis of much of their social and economic security, threatened for the first time. And the failure

of the elite to supply the necessary leadership to the poor during this time of change provoked the first agrarian unrest in Pampanga's modern history.

Administrative policy and practice

During the years from 1911 to 1921, American colonial policy underwent a change of purpose. Following the victory of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic party in the election of 1912, the official aim of American colonialism shifted from a careful tutelage leading to eventual, but far distant, independence to a rapid substitution of native for Western personnel, facilitating a quicker severing of political ties between the two countries. The Jones Bill of 1916 was the manifesto of this new policy.¹ The preamble contained a clear statement of the American intention to withdraw from the Philippines in the near future, although no specific timetable for that withdrawal was mentioned. The body of the bill called for the creation of a bicameral native legislature replacing the old Philippine Commission and the one lower house of representatives. The American governor-general still exercised executive authority, but the power over many matters relating to Philippine citizenship requirements, public domain, natural resources, mining, tariffs, and government appropriations fell to the new legislature. The Jones Bill clearly provided for a great increase in native responsibility for domestic affairs.

Wilson's appointee as governor-general, Francis Burton Harrison, began the process of so-called intensive "Filipinization" ² shortly after his arrival in Manila on October 6, 1913.

¹ U.S. Congress, *Statutes at Large, 64th Congress*, pp. 545-556 (Jones Act). For a more readily available copy of the text see, Charles B. Elliott, *The Philippines to the End of the Commission Government* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1917), pp. 512-523.

² The origin of the term Filipinization is obscure, but Harrison himself used it to describe the process of replacing American with native personnel in his book, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence* (New York: Century, 1922), pp. 75-91.

In his opening speech on that day Harrison announced the president's and his own intentions for the Philippines:

Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as a preparation for that independence. And we hope to move towards that end as rapidly as the safety and the permanent interests of the Islands will permit.³

Harrison devoted his eight years in the Philippines, from 1913 to 1921, to implementing those intentions. He started by naming a majority of Filipinos to the commission, and, when that body was abolished, he created the Council of State, composed primarily of native political leaders, to advise him on executive matters. Further, he replaced Americans with Filipinos in as many civil service positions as possible. The number of Americans working in the insular bureaucracy fell from 2,623 in 1913 to 614 in 1921. In the latter year few Americans held high administrative positions. Most of those still remaining had special professional skills and were employed in more technical positions. The replacements had all come from the native population. Filipinos also filled the new jobs opened in those years. The number of native civil servants rose from 6,363 to 13,240 in the same period.⁴

In a sense, Harrison's initiation of Filipinization merely inscribed a punctuation mark on a process that had begun in earlier times. Filipinos, even though in a minority, had participated in the councils of state from almost the inauguration of civil government in 1901. Since 1905 native civil servants outnumbered those from the United States, and the differences became more pronounced throughout the rest of the Republican years. The U.S. government never attracted enough qualified Americans to colonial service, and Filipinization thus became an inevitability, even in the Taft years.

Especially in the period following the passage of the Jones

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Bureaucracy in the Philippines* (Manila: Institute of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, 1957), pp. 183, 201-202.

Bill until the arrival of the Republican-appointed governor-general, Leonard Wood, roughly from 1917 to late 1921, insular political and administrative power fell largely into the hands of a small group of native politicians belonging to the Nacionalista party. Nacionalistas overwhelmingly controlled both houses of the legislature. Hence, at the top of the order, Speaker of the House Sergio Osmeña and Senate President Manuel Luis Quezon dominated the leadership of the legislature as well as their own party. The very permissive Harrison, moreover, allowed both men to exert considerable influence in executive affairs through their membership in the Council of State. They, along with the governor-general, also formed the directorship of such important government corporations as the Philippine National Bank and the Manila Railroad Company. The combined responsibilities of Quezon and Osmeña led a contemporary Philippine political scientist to observe that they "were the most powerful presiding officers in the world."⁵

While power concentrated in new hands, the scope and level of government activity grew in the years from 1911 to 1921. The tariff concessions granted by the United States beginning in 1909 soon led to greater commercial energy in the Philippines and a demand by native agriculturalists for better and more abundant transportation, marketing, and credit facilities. The central government took over the ailing Manila Railroad, built more paved highways and public facilities, and chartered a new bank. The Bureau of Agriculture achieved added importance in the control of epidemic diseases among animals and in the development of new seeds and new farming and processing techniques. The emphasis placed by the Americans on education created a cry for additional and better schools and for jobs for the graduates of those schools.

As a consequence of these conditions, both the costs of administration and the number employed in government service rose substantially. Between 1911 and 1921 the number of civil

⁵ Maximo M. Kalaw, *The Development of Philippine Politics (1872 to 1920)* (Manila: Oriental Commercial, 1926), p. 397.

servants almost doubled as did the annual expenses of government. One way the government chose to meet its new obligations was to raise internal taxes. The implementation of a cadastral survey led to more accurate assessment and greater collection of land taxes. Further, the government introduced an inheritance tax and, beginning in 1919, a graduated income tax. As a result, internal revenues rose from \$9,603,066 in 1911 to \$24,703,515 in 1921.⁶ The Filipinos chose to run their government on a far larger and more expensive scale than did their Republican mentors of the early years.

The changes in American colonial policy, while increasing Filipino autonomy at the insular level of government, did not automatically do the same at the provincial level. Before the Harrison administration, the provincial board and municipal councils of Pampanga already exercised a high degree of responsibility for governmental decision-making. Turning insular affairs over to native leadership and enlarging the size of government did not necessarily improve that situation to the advantage of the provincial chiefs. In fact, the new political and economic conditions prevailing in the Philippines led to a surrender by the province of some of its former autonomy.

For a number of hard economic reasons, Pampanga became more dependent upon the insular government. Changed market conditions in the case of sugar and rice made the need for better transportation, irrigation, and commercial facilities more pressing. But the revenues available to the provincial and town governments did not mount quickly enough to meet the demand. As early as 1912 Acting Governor Mariano Lim, in his annual report, pleaded with the insular government to remit a larger share of taxes to the local authorities for use on public works. In his first report, Governor Francisco Liongson noted that some of the smaller municipalities could just about meet their current operating expenses and possessed no funds for ad-

⁶ W. Cameron Forbes, *The Philippine Islands* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), II, 495. The two Forbes volumes contain a very thorough account of American administrative policy and practice in this period.

ditional public improvements. Other public expenses required attention as well. The Americans had demonstrated the value of artesian wells in cholera prevention, and the provincial authorities set as their costly goal the drilling of at least one well in each barrio.⁷ The Pampangans also came to realize the benefit of public education, particularly for those who completed the full course of instruction. The emphasis placed on more advanced and specialized educational facilities raised provincial budgets even higher.

While the cost of administration rose, so did the amount of money collected in taxes. But these funds went mostly to the insular government, which then made appropriations for major public works in Pampanga. Hence, although Pampanga might suggest which work needed completion, Manila determined by its allocations the projects actually finished. The insular government proved quite generous in its appropriations, especially during the Harrison years; nevertheless, Pampangan officials paid a price in terms of greater dependence upon the central government. Furthermore, the new tax burdens, coupled with a greater need for investment capital, reduced the number of private donations to public projects in Pampanga.⁸ To some degree the members of the native elite had to give up to the state their traditional prerogative of steering the course of provincial development.

The few concessions made by Manila to provincial autonomy scarcely altered the trend toward greater centralization of authority. In 1915, by virtue of an act of the civil government, the provincial treasurer gave up his place on the provincial board to one of the municipal presidents appointed by the

⁷ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 4.

⁸ Sources for this period contain fewer references (compared to the previous decade) to private donations to public projects. Furthermore, such donations, when given, tended to be smaller. For example, where before the citizens of Santa Rita might have contributed funds for both the land and the central school, in 1917 they only could raise ₱1,000 for the land ["History and Cultural Life of the Town of Santa Rita and Its Barrios," HDP, p. 4].

governor-general. This substitution of an appointed Pampangan for an appointed civil servant hardly affected the balance of power in Pampanga provincial government. Since 1907 the treasurer had been in a minority position vis-à-vis native officials on the board, and whatever extra prestige the office possessed, because its holders came from the States, faded in 1912 when the last American treasurer, W. C. Kaminer, resigned.⁹ From that year on, only native Filipinos held the job. The next logical step, of making the last remaining appointive position on the board an elective one, was taken in time for the election of 1916. Thus the Harrison government stayed consistent to the policy of Filipinization while surrendering little additional authority to the province.

The switches in high-ranking personnel and overall colonial policy did not seem to reduce significantly the quantity and quality of public services in Pampanga during the years 1911 to 1921. The emphasis on and within certain programs may have shifted, but such changes reflected both new public needs and differences in values between Philippine and American policy-makers. Nevertheless, the relatively high importance attached by America (compared with other colonial nations) in the early years to public welfare programs remained a dominant value with native officials later on.¹⁰

As a notable example, the growth of commercial agriculture, following the passage of the Payne Aldrich Act in 1909, encouraged the insular government to make sizable allocations for better transportation to funnel produce from Central Luzon into the port of Manila. For Pampanga this policy meant more and better intermunicipal and interprovincial roads. Between 1912 and 1919 the length of first-class roads in the province grew

⁹ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, p. 1; Bureau of Education, "Local, Geographical and Historical Notes: Province of Pampanga" (unpublished pamphlet, filed August 18, 1915), BIA, 2764-23, p. 2.

¹⁰ Even one of the strongest critics of native government at this time, W. Cameron Forbes, highly praised the willingness of the Filipinos to spend liberally on public welfare [Forbes, II, 278-281].

from 33.2 to 180.1 kilometers.¹¹ In the latter year Pampanga ranked second among all provinces in kilometers of all-weather roads. With the possible exception of Minalin, by 1921 every town had at least one year-round road that led to the Manila highway.¹² This highway extended north-south through San Fernando, Angeles, and Mabalacat into Tarlac, Tarlac. Other roads connected Pampanga with Concepcion, Tarlac and Cabio, Nueva Ecija. Each year, the government made substantial contributions for the extension and maintenance of these arteries.¹³ In addition, the province kept up a series of third-class roads, passable in the dry season, to tie many outlying barrios to the municipal centers.¹⁴ The Manila Railroad Company completed in 1914 a new spur from San Fernando east via Santa Ana to Arayat and four years later lengthened the Floridablanca trunk another four kilometers to supply transportation for a new sugar-processing plant in that town. The railroad also made efforts to improve stations along the tracks.¹⁵ By the end of the period, then, Pampangan farmers on either side of the main line had closer access to the railroad and could more easily ship their produce to sugar mills and markets (see Map 7). As a further aid to the

¹¹ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, p. 8; Letter from G. Unson, Presidente of Asociacion Agricola Provincial de Tayabas to Hon. Maximo Rodriguez, Governor of Tayabas, November 8, 1919, QP.

¹² Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 5; Letter from Colonel J. W. Heard, Ninth Cavalry, Fort Stotsenburg, to Commanding General, Philippine Department, August 20, 1920, QP; Letter from Secretary of Commerce and Communications Dionisio Jakosalem to Manuel Luis Quezon, October 19, 1920, QP.

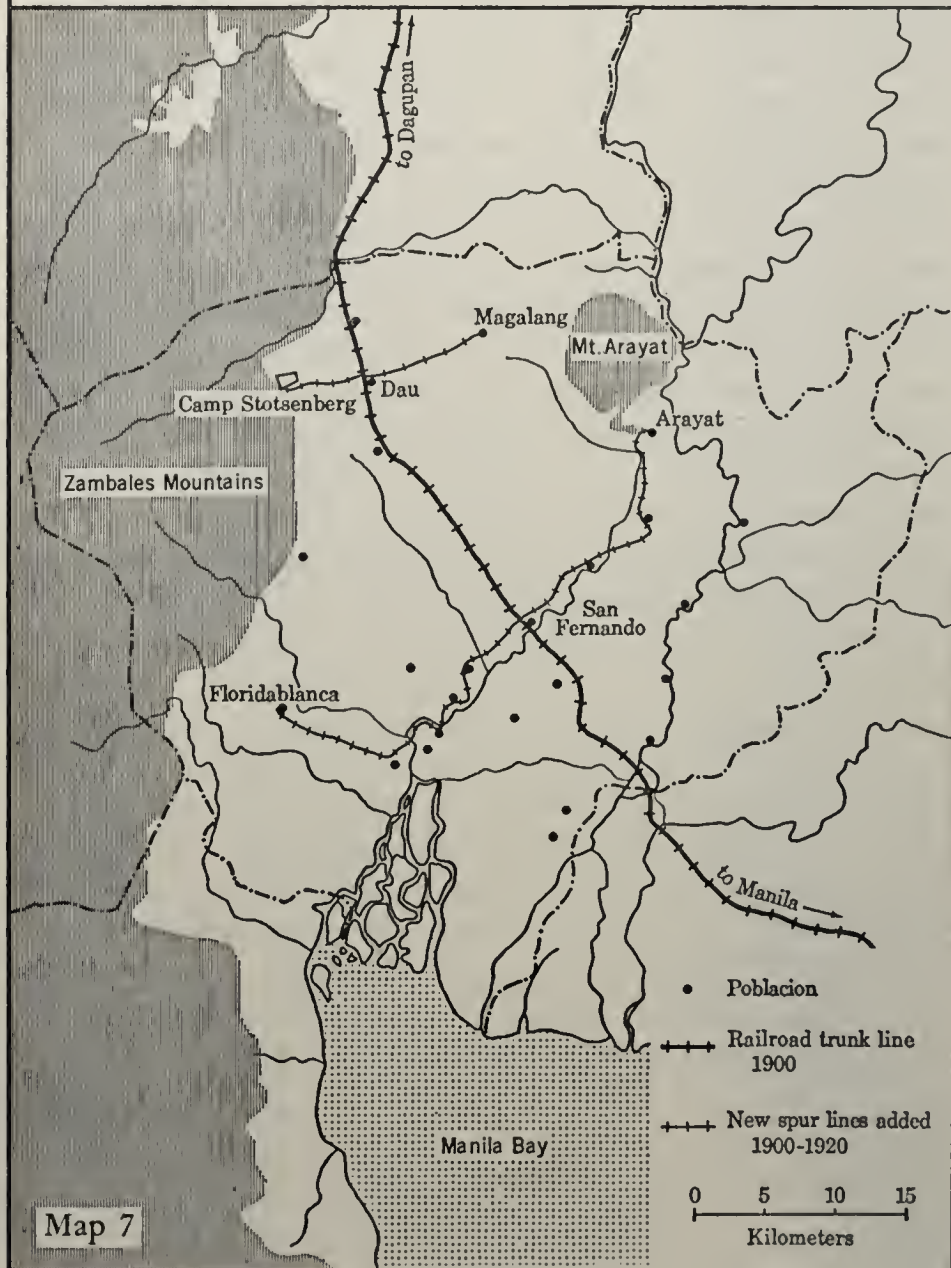
¹³ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 5; Letter from Dionisio Jakosalem to Manuel Luis Quezon, December 15, 1920, QP.

¹⁴ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915, p. 4.

¹⁵ On the progress of railroads in Pampanga see Philippine Islands, Manila Railroad Company, *Annual Report of the Manila Railroad Company, 1914* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), p. 19; Manuel Gatbonton, *Ing Candawe* (Pampanga: n.p., 1933), p. 61; Philippine Islands, Manila Railroad Company, *Report of the Manila Railroad Company for the Year Ended December 31, 1918* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), p. 24; Letter from E. J. Westerhouse, General Manager, Manila Railroad Company, to Manuel Luis Quezon, March 29, 1919, QP.

GROWTH OF RAILROADS

1900-1920



agricultural community in the province, the government appropriated sums for maintenance and improvement of the Arnedo Dike and other irrigation works.¹⁶ The province also received money to further the program of market-building begun in the first decade of American rule. Some towns even had second and third commercial structures completed.¹⁷ Manila proved very generous in support of the farming interests in the province.

Educational policy for Pampanga during the years 1911 to 1921 resulted from decisions made at the municipal, provincial, and insular levels of government. The municipal councils and the provincial board made recommendations for the types and number of schools to be operated and constructed, while the legislature, with executive approval, appropriated funds, often in the form of matching grants and long-term loans,¹⁸ to support these projects. Over the years the central government took an ever bigger role in the decision-making process as the local units became more dependent upon it for money. The new taxes collected went largely to Manila, and contributions for education from private sources tended to dry up—although not completely.¹⁹ Still, the local native ruling group initiated the plans and school budgets, even if the central government increasingly paid the bills.

Pampangan leaders never articulated their educational ideals and goals. Hence, the only evidence of their intentions came from their emphasis on sundry aspects of the school system. In general, the provincial educational establishment became,

¹⁶ Letters from Dionisio Jakosalem to Manuel Luis Quezon, September 2, 1920, October 19, 1920, QP; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, p. 7.

¹⁷ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, p. 7; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915, p. 4; Mariano A. Henson, *A Brief History of the Town of Angeles in the Province of Pampanga* (San Fernando, Pampanga: Ing Katiwala Press, 1949), pp. 32, 34; Gatbonton, p. 63.

¹⁸ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, July 12, 1921, p. 2.

¹⁹ "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Minalin," HDP, p. 31, Barrio San Juan, p. 11. The case of Santa Rita has already been cited in an earlier note.

under their direction, more consolidated and more geared to advanced training (see Table 13). Local government officials showed a preference for a more elitist educational system, where a smaller group of students had greater access to advanced train-

Table 13.
PUBLIC EDUCATION IN PAMPANGA, 1911-1918

	Primary (I-III)	Intermediate (IV-VII)	Secondary	Total
<i>Number of schools</i>				
1911	160	8	1	169
1918	96	11	1	108
<i>Number of enrolled students</i>				
1912	15,230	833	130	16,193
1918	12,450	1,968	505	14,923
<i>Number of teachers</i>				
1911	223	32	4	259 ^a
1918	243	68	13	324 ^b

^a Comprising 13 Americans and 246 Filipinos.

^b Comprising 7 Americans and 317 Filipinos.

Source: Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1911, pp. 5-6; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, pp. 14-15; *Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), IV, Pt. 2, 32-33, 188-189, 200, 532.

ing. The figures revealed that, while overall enrollment contracted during the period, the number of intermediate and high school pupils rose substantially.²⁰ All the sacrifices came at the primary level.

But even among the primary schools, cuts in appropriations

²⁰ Enrollment in the primary grades may also have risen in the years following 1918. The overall trend in the Philippines was toward a rapid growth in primary education following World War I [The Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), pp. 18-19]. Unfortunately, no statistics exist specifically to confirm the case for Pampanga. Even so, Pampangan leadership demonstrated a clear-cut preference for advanced education. Surely that preference persisted and was made manifest after 1918 as well.

were not made uniformly. In times of financial stringency the barrio schools were the first victims of austerity. For example, in mid-1912, local authorities closed eighty barrio schools as a result of a recession caused by poor harvests early in the year.²¹ Acting Governor Lim commented that many children could not attend schools because of the distance from their barrio homes to the poblaciones where the central schools stood. Then again in 1914 the barrio schools in Masantol were shut down because of temporary hard times due to the outbreak of World War I.²² Barrio schools, even of frail materials, tended to be the last ones constructed, usually after each town had built a permanent central elementary school, often with both primary and intermediate grades.²³ Hence, the drop from 160 to 96 primary schools mostly affected children living in the outlying areas.

Although the number of barrio schools dropped off, there was a slight increase in the number of primary teachers. Presumably the children who remained in school, meaning most often those who lived in the central areas, received more attention than in former years. In line with the policy of Filipinization, the number of American teachers declined; however, Americans had not taught in the primary grades since early in the Taft years. Their absence was to be felt, if at all, only in the upper divisions.

The advance in intermediate and high school enrollment demonstrated that public education still functioned effectively, if for fewer students, in Pampanga. Graduates of the school system acquired the academic skills to enter university and to pur-

²¹ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, pp. 14-15.

²² *The 1964 Masantol Yearbook* (Masantol, Pampanga: n.p., 1964), p. 51.

²³ The distinct preference for central schools over barrio schools emerges from many entries in the HDP and the annual reports of the governor of Pampanga. See also, Gatbonton, pp. 62-64; and Henson, p. 35. Even the insular government was more willing to appropriate money for the more permanent type of central schools. In this regard see, Letter from Dionisio Jakosalem to the Director of Education, April 28, 1920, QP; *Manila Times*, April 18, 1914, p. 3; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, February 14, 1919, p. 4.

sue a variety of careers. A survey of 207 of the 305 graduates of Pampanga High School between 1912 and 1921 revealed that 41.5 percent became teachers, 18.8 percent took up professional careers, 15.4 percent had clerical jobs, and 15 percent were still studying.²⁴ Only 3.4 percent of the graduates went into farming. Pampanga High School showed a continuing strong academic orientation. In a survey of twenty-six (out of thirty-one) graduates in the class of 1921, taken three years later, fourteen were still studying, eleven were teaching, and only one had gone into business.²⁵

At the University of the Philippines, Pampangan students followed courses, both graduate and undergraduate, in a number of fields. The list in Table 14 gives some idea of the diversity

Table 14.

COURSE ELECTIONS BY PAMPANGAN STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1918/19 AND 1923/24

<i>Course</i>	<i>1918/19</i>	<i>1923/24</i>
Medicine	14	11
Pharmacy	6	9
Nursing	14	9
Liberal Arts and Fine Arts	62	75
Engineering	6	17
Law	16	6
Education	16	9
Agriculture	13	19
Veterinary Medicine	6	7
Music	3	6
Forestry	1	0

Source: Census of the Philippine Islands, 1918 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1921), IV, Pt. 2, 604-605; The Board of Educational Survey, *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1925), p. 666.

of careers sought by students from the province, many of them products of the public school system. Pampanga thus exhibited a relatively high commitment to advanced education. Statistics

²⁴ The Board of Educational Survey, p. 335.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

compiled by the university concluded that Pampanga High School graduates apparently fared just about average for Filipino students in college classroom performance in the academic year 1918-1919. And during the year 1918-1919 Pampangans were awarded the second highest total of U.P. degrees, twenty-two, topped only by graduates from the Manila area, who received thirty-two diplomas.²⁶

The schools in Pampanga devoted some attention to non-academic subjects related to the province's economic activities. In most primary schools children could learn to weave hats, baskets, bayones, and other trade objects.²⁷ A large share of primary and intermediate schools also gave instruction in horticulture, and boys could raise vegetables in school gardens. In primary, intermediate, and even high schools, girls could attend domestic science classes. Several towns also ran manual training programs, especially in carpentry. Additionally, the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades still taught advanced courses in carpentry (including furniture making) and iron work to about two hundred students each year.²⁸ But not until 1917 did the province begin to operate a school primarily for agricultural training. The old agricultural school, founded by the Spaniards in the town of Magalang, had lain idle since 1898. The joint efforts of an American teacher, Kilmer O. Moe, and Assemblyman Andres Luciano to reconstruct the buildings finally prompted the Bureau of Education to support the reopening of the school, and Governor Ventura donated some provincial money to aid the project. In 1921 the school offered a curriculum oriented toward agriculture for both intermediate and high school levels.²⁹

²⁶ *Census, 1918*, IV, Pt. 2, 609-610, 656-658.

²⁷ The story of manual training classes in Pampanga comes from *Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1911*, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915*, p. 3; *Census, 1918*, IV, Pt. 2, 532.

²⁹ The story of the Magalang Farm School is told in *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang*, trans. Milagrosa R. Martinez as *The Souvenir Program on the Founding Day of Magalang, December 13, 1863-December 13, 1954* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1954), p. 29.

In the field of public health, the program begun by the Americans continued with little change under the new regime. Pampangan medical personnel still ran the public health services as they had done during most of the Taft years. By virtue of a reorganization of the Public Health Service in 1912, Pampanga was divided into nine sanitary districts, each supervised by a physician.³⁰ These doctors seemed to take an active interest in public health and on at least one occasion traveled to Manila to study techniques employed in the city.³¹

Members of the provincial elite, including political officials, still supported efforts to improve community health. The provincial board persisted in its campaign of drilling artesian wells, particularly in settlements where cholera appeared.³² As a result of this work, cholera became a relatively rare phenomenon in Pampanga.³³ In the towns of Bacolor and San Fernando, ladies from the upper class joined a movement, started in Manila, to form societies which looked after the health of young babies, with emphasis on the establishment of health clinics for newborns and their mothers and the distribution of free sterile milk to infants whose mothers could not breast-feed them.³⁴ How active these societies became in Pampanga did not appear in the records.

Authorities generally followed the basic known steps in the control of epidemic diseases. They could not be held responsible for the severe outbreak of dengue fever in 1918 (part of a world-wide epidemic) as no information existed on its

³⁰ Letter from J. D. Long, M.D., Philippine Health Service, to Manuel Luis Quezon, August 21, 1915, QP.

³¹ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, April 17, 1916, p. 4.

³² Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1913, p. 4; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915, p. 4; *Manila Times*, January 25, 1913, p. 6; Gatbonton, p. 61.

³³ A few cases occurred in 1912, 1915, and 1916, sometimes in the wake of heavy storms. The total number of deaths in all three years did not reach 500 [Gatbonton, p. 61; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915, p. 4; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 4].

³⁴ PNA, registers 10838 and 21068 contain the articles of incorporation and a statement of purpose for the two societies, "Club de Damas Fernandinas" and "Las Mujeres de Bacolor Para la Proteccion de la Infancia."

causes or its cure.³⁵ Nor could health officials in Pampanga take the blame for the reappearance of smallpox in the southern part of the province that same year. Manila laboratories had recently issued a vaccine too weak to prevent the disease.³⁶ Nevertheless, the two epidemics together led one writer from Candaba to comment:

For two months there was an epidemic of influenza [dengue] and smallpox. There were so many casualties that the tolling of the church bells was prohibited.³⁷

Aside from this one bad year, however, the work in public health was reasonably successful in Pampanga.

Conditions of public safety in the province changed little in the Harrison years. Constabulary troopers added to their normal duties responsibility for policing precincts during elections to insure fair play.³⁸ Otherwise, the incidence of crime remained fairly low, and the constabulary maintained a record of efficiency which earned it the praise of government officials.³⁹ The reported offenses took place in widely scattered locations in the province, usually in the most remote regions. Between 1911 and 1915 a number of outlaws, perhaps remnants of Salvador's sect, operated intermittently in the vicinity of the Candaba Swamp.⁴⁰ Another group carried out raids during 1911 and 1912 on isolated barrios of Lubao near the Bataan border.⁴¹ In neither case did these crimes amount to anything like a conspiracy. The most publicized crime wave was a series of bur-

³⁵ Numerous entries in the HDP refer to the dengue fever epidemic, sometimes calling it grippe and sometimes influenza. The disease persists today and there is still no cure. See on this subject "Fever in Hanoi," *Time*, XCIV (October 10, 1969), p. 72.

³⁶ Forbes, I, 338-339 n.

³⁷ Gatbonton, p. 64.

³⁸ Memorandum from C. E. Nathorst, Assistant to the Chief, to the Chief of the Philippine Constabulary, October 22, 1919, QP.

³⁹ Philippine Islands, Governor General, *Annual Report of the Governor General, Philippine Islands 1921* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1922), p. 75.

⁴⁰ Gatbonton, pp. 60-62.

⁴¹ Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, p. 13.

glaries in the homes of American residents of San Fernando in late 1913 and early 1914. In an article in the *Manila Times* the Americans in the province made known their deepest suspicions concerning a plot against the whole American community in the area, a plot which entailed official native collusion.⁴² As usual, the charges came to nothing.

In 1921 the victorious Republican president, Warren G. Harding, dispatched to the Philippines a team of investigators headed by ex-Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes and Major General Leonard Wood. The commission of inspectors examined for four months many aspects of Philippine life to determine the progress toward independence made by the Filipinos during the preceding eight years of Democratic supervision.

In a brief report summarizing their conclusions,⁴³ Wood and Forbes noted a general deterioration in Philippine public services, brought about, they surmised, by too rapid a Filipinization of the civil service. They felt that governmental administration fell prey to undue political influence, red tape, and too many positions created among the top rank of officials. From the commission's point of view, overall governmental efficiency declined in the Harrison years, and, in the future, administration needed a firmer guiding hand from the Americans.

The performance of the government at the insular level, especially in regard to fiscal matters, amply justified the commission's charges. The legislative and executive branches had been irresponsible in their investment and disbursement of funds. Some of the departments, notably the Bureau of Science and the Public Health Service, had been lax in the performance of their functions. These lapses had disastrous consequences, such as the financial crisis then plaguing the Philippines and the periodic recurrence of epidemic diseases. To a businessman like Forbes and a physician like Wood these particular problem areas undoubtedly became magnified in their eyes.

⁴² *Manila Times*, March 11, 1914, p. 3.

⁴³ U.S. House of Representatives, *Condition in Philippine Islands: Report of the Special Mission to the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War*, Document No. 325, 67th Cong., 2d Sess., 1922.

But viewing administrative performance from the vantage of the Pampangans the record did not appear so unattractive. If the government overspent, the province was one of the beneficiaries of the extravagance. Substantial appropriations went into building transportation facilities which improved Pampanga's commerce. The Philippine National Bank, a real source of economic trouble in the eyes of the commission, loaned money to sugar farmers and processors to better their production record. And, if Manila created too many new jobs, at least the Pampangans held some of those positions. Taxes were higher, but so to some extent were the benefits.

Although the orientation of public welfare may have changed somewhat in the Harrison years, the amount of services did not notably lessen. The school system favored the few and, in that sense, became less public. The health service made no new attacks on diseases but neither, with one exception, did it lose the ground already gained. The Philippine Constabulary still worked well. And public works improved significantly, especially in the aid of business interests.

The apparent contradiction between the conclusions of Wood and Forbes concerning administration and the actuality of governmental achievements in Pampanga sprang from the juxtaposition of two partially disparate sets of cultural values. The commissioners recognized the process of Filipinization of government, even used the term in their report. But they missed a major implication of that process, namely, that Filipinization automatically entailed more than simply replacing American colonial officials with native personnel. Filipinos brought their own values to the job and these values did not necessarily coincide with those of American officials. For one thing, Filipinos in office obviously did not serve with the same kind of degree of disinterest as did transient American colonial officers with their social, familial, and cultural roots planted elsewhere. Wood and Forbes had long experience in the colonial service in the Philippines; both surely harbored in their minds certain ideals of administrative policy and practice. But they had been removed from the scene for a crucial eight years while Filipino officials,

possessing the predilections of the native upper class, reshaped institutions to suit those norms. The two returning Americans seriously misread, on one level, the altered scene.

A full discussion of the differences between Filipino and American administrative values would be tangential to the story of Pampanga's progress from 1911 to 1921. But one series of confrontations in Pampanga during those years epitomized both the nature of governmental change within the province and the dimensions of the conflict over styles and ideals among native and foreign officials. The object of the controversy was rinderpest.

Rinderpest had arrived in the Philippines as early as the 1880s.⁴⁴ The Spaniards had no remedy for it, and the disease intermittently infected cattle in Pampanga during the first decade of American rule. The Bureau of Agriculture did not bring rinderpest under control and in 1911 a fresh and serious outbreak hit the province.⁴⁵ This time the bureau responded with a massive quarantine. Governor-General Forbes ordered that all animals transported from one province in Central Luzon to another be held at the border for an incubation period of ten days. Early in the year a task force of American veterinarians and inspectors, as well as over seventy municipal policemen and constabulary troopers, began the arduous process of locating and isolating stricken animals. Carabao traffic out of infected areas was

⁴⁴ "Rinderpest under the Spanish Regime," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, III (1910), 368.

⁴⁵ The story of rinderpest in Pampanga comes mainly from the annual reports of the Bureau of Agriculture for the years 1911 to 1921. The annual reports of the governor and numerous reports and articles in the *Philippine Agricultural Review* also contain important information. See also Gatbonton, p. 60; Henson, p. 34; Forbes, II, 278; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, December 22, 1915, p. 1; Jose Alejandrino, *The Price of Freedom*, trans. Jose M. Alejandrino (Manila: M. Colcol, 1949), p. 208; "The Development of the Philippines. A summary of the results of special investigations made by Henry Jackson Waters, President of the Kansas State Agricultural College, by authority of an act of the Legislature of the Philippines" (Pamphlet, 1914), BIA, 2403-65, p. 24; Letter from H. T. Edwards, Director of Agriculture, Bureau of Agriculture, to Henderson S. Martin, Bureau of Insular Affairs, Washington, D.C., November 30, 1914, BIA, 2403-24.

curtailed; even areas suspected of infection were quarantined as a matter of prevention.

Although the team worked energetically, it could not lower the incidence of rinderpest in Pampanga. In some months the number of cases declined, only to rise again later on. Two problems deterred the effectiveness of the quarantine: the serum used in that period failed to immunize the animals; and native farmers occasionally defied the law and circumvented the quarantine. The program of isolating stricken areas, when perfectly carried out, did reduce the rinderpest, but in such areas commercial farming came to a virtual standstill. Farmers with widely scattered fields could not move their plow animals from one place to another. Nor could carabao-pulled carts, the major form of barrio transportation, deliver harvested crops to market. In 1911 the combination of rinderpest and the quarantine produced an economic disaster in the province. A year later Governor Lim was asking that the whole operation be turned over to the province. By late 1912 and early 1913 the situation became critical. Farmers evaded the quarantine and brought infected animals to clean areas. The government team then cordoned off the new areas and thus slowed down farming there. Farmers and veterinarians countered each others' moves with evasion and strict controls. Tensions sprang up. At one point a farmer from Arayat, Andriano Panlilio, with a group of armed men chased the vets off his property.⁴⁶ The Philippine Commission, under the soon-to-depart Forbes, finally heeded Lim's request in mid-1913 and from then on provincial officials ran a narrower quarantine, closing off only infected areas. Furthermore, the onset of the harvest season signaled a temporary lifting of restrictions in order to bring in all crops. At the end of 1913 the governor could report that the province had reduced the cost of the program without raising the incidence of the disease. Pampanga

⁴⁶ In Magalang, enraged farmers sent Municipal President Alfredo Ganzon to intercede with the governor-general to have the quarantine officers removed from the town. The governor-general responded affirmatively [Interview with Mr. Alfredo Ganzon, Angeles, Pampanga, June 5, 1964].

officially received full jurisdiction over the program from Governor-General Harrison in December.

The Pampangans did not end rinderpest with their quarantine techniques and the provincial reports for the next two years admitted to over 2,500 cases of the disease. But by this time the Bureau of Agriculture had a new weapon, for in 1914 the veterinarians began inoculating cattle with a new serum that did provide protection from the disease. The bureau put up an immunizing station in Mexico in order to treat all the carabao in the area, and the good results generally produced a positive response in Pampanga. The serum had one major drawback, however, in that vaccinated animals suffered a temporary debilitation following the injection and for a period of time were useless to their owners. Reluctance to have animals inoculated built up until it became necessary for Governor Ventura to step in and make vaccination compulsory. For the rest of his term (i.e. until 1921) he used the strength of his office to force compliance. The central government supported his campaign with funds to make inoculation available throughout the province. As a result of the combined provincial and central government efforts, the number of cases in Pampanga fell to 187 in 1919. Two years later rinderpest appeared just in Arayat and Candaba, the only towns where the vaccination program was not yet completed.

In 1919, when the war against rinderpest had come nearly to the end, someone in the American-run Veterinary Division of the Bureau of Agriculture⁴⁷ revived an old ghost. In an annual report for that year, he called for a return of the quarantine program to the supervision of the bureau. His argument ran that really the bureau conducted a more efficient and effective operation. Provincial officials kept poor information on fresh outbreaks of epidemic diseases, and no preventive quarantine was possible. Further, native distaste for stringent enforcement would be mollified by the presence of more Filipinos, now em-

⁴⁷ As late as 1919 the Chief Veterinarian of the Bureau of Agriculture was Stanton Youngberg, D.V.M., who had served in that capacity since before 1914. He may well have been the author of these comments. They certainly reflected his views.

ployed in field work in greater numbers by the bureau. No more would language and cultural barriers create frictions, as they had in the old days.

While somewhat more mellow in tone, the arguments still failed to deal with the true native position. The American-run program may certainly have been more effective, but it also cost the farmers more in lost time and resources. The Pampangans preferred to gamble on a milder kind of enforcement, without accurate record-keeping, in the hope that profits from crops would keep ahead of losses due to diseased animals. And by 1919 the Filipino way had already replaced the American way.

Politics in the new decade

The reordering of administrative authority at the insular level firmed two political trends in Pampanga, only somewhat discernible before 1911. First of all, the acquisition of more power by Nacionalista politicians in Manila encouraged greater subservience and loyalty to the insular party from the provincial leaders. The opinions of Pampanga's politicians tended increasingly to conform, generally and specifically, with those of the central party. The province's municipal councils passed numerous resolutions supporting Nacionalista positions on leading issues of the day. For example, in 1913 the town councils of Bacolor, Floridablanca, Lubao, and San Luis all sent protests denying the charge of former Commissioner Worcester and ex-Governor Forbes that slavery existed in the Philippines.⁴⁸ The resolutions argued, in accordance with the Nacionalista position, that the charge of slavery was leveled in an effort merely to postpone the day of Philippine independence.⁴⁹ Three years later, the provincial council and four town councils expressed gratitude to Harrison, Quezon, and Senator Hitchcock of the Commit-

⁴⁸ Resolutions of the municipal councils of Bacolor (December 15, 1913), San Luis (December 26, 1913), Mexico (December 27, 1913), Floridablanca (December 29, 1913), and Lubao (December 31, 1913), QP.

⁴⁹ As for Quezon's special concern with this case, see the letter from Attorney General Ignacio Villamor to Quezon, November 19, 1913, QP.

tee on Insular Affairs for the passage of the Jones Bill.⁵⁰ When Congressman Jones, the sponsor of the famous act, died in 1918 his family received condolences from the councils of Bacolor and Minalin as well as from a group of intellectuals and politicians in Bacolor called "Aguman 33."⁵¹ Masantol and Guagua officially expressed their approval to Nacionalista chief Sergio Osmeña when the Philippine legislature passed a bill allowing for the open display of the Philippine flag.⁵² And, as a kind of culminating gesture, the assembled presidents of all the towns passed a resolution in 1920 expressing deep admiration to Harrison, Quezon, and Osmeña for their labors on behalf of the Filipino people.⁵³

The political allegiance to the cause of immediate independence (the Nacionalista platform) was manifest in more than just council resolutions. The towns sent to the legislature men of the stripe of Pedro Abad Santos, firmly committed to rapid autonomy. Abad Santos, veteran of the army of Aguinaldo, had spent the first years of the American regime in a jail for his part in the guerrilla war carried on by his chief, Maximino Hizon.⁵⁴ As a congressman, first elected in 1916, he stayed in the forefront of the independence fight. In 1918, for instance, he was one of the prime movers in the plan to send a commission to the United

⁵⁰ Resolutions of the municipal councils of Bacolor (August 25, 1916), Lubao (August 31, 1916), San Simon (September 8, 1916), and San Luis (September 15, 1916), as well as the Provincial Council of Pampanga (August 24, 1916), QP.

⁵¹ Resolutions of the municipal councils of Minalin (April 30, 1918) [letter calls him Senator Jones!], Bacolor (May 2, 1918), and letter from the "Aguman 33," signed by Edilberto Joven, to the family of William Atkinson Jones, April 30, 1918, QP.

⁵² Telegram from Ricardo Velez, Municipal President of Guagua, to Sergio Osmeña, October 30, 1919, QP; Letter of Receipt from Jorge Vargas, Secretary to the President of the Senate, to the Municipal Secretary, Masantol, December 17, 1919, QP.

⁵³ Extract of an Act by the Assembled Presidents, in San Fernando, Pampanga, Monday, May 17, 1920, QP. See also Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1915, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Ramon C. Aquino, *A Chance to Die* (Quezon City: Alemar-Phoenix 1967), pp. 11-12

States in order to seek immediate independence.⁵⁵ Other gestures in Pampanga of the new commitment included joyful celebrations by the towns upon the raising once again of the Philippine flag in 1919.⁵⁶ The towns also joined other Philippine municipalities in renaming streets after such national heroes as Jose Rizal, General Antonio Luna, and Father Jacinto Zamora.⁵⁷ The province thus amply showed its willingness to support the aims and symbols for which the Nacionalista party stood.

The other trend emerging strongly in the second decade of American rule was the Nacionalista domination of political office in Pampanga. Three important elections were held over the course of the decade: in 1912, in 1916, and in 1919. In each the Nacionalistas improved their position. They found in 1912 their first winning candidate for governor in Francisco Liongson, previously defeated for that position by Macario Arnedo. The Nacionalistas also captured one of the two assembly seats as well as fourteen of twenty-one municipal presidencies. More importantly, Arnedo, formerly the leading vote-getter of the Progresistas, did not succeed in his run for the assembly.

But the opposition to the Nacionalistas demonstrated some power in 1912. Monico Mercado, two-term assemblyman and a Nacionalista, failed in his attempt at reelection; M. Buyson Lampa, a Progresista, was elected third member of the provincial board; and Eduardo Gutierrez David joined Nacionalista Andres Luciano in the Philippine Assembly. Gutierrez David apparently had never reconciled himself with the Nacionalistas. He ran in 1912 as an independent candidate without the endorsement of either party. Only after taking his seat in the assembly did he declare himself a Progresista.⁵⁸ Gutierrez David

⁵⁵ Extract of an Act made in Extraordinary Session of the Municipal Council of San Fernando, Pampanga, January 24, 1918 [Antonio Abad Santos, Municipal President, presiding], QP.

⁵⁶ Henson, p. 36; Gatbonton, pp. 64-65.

⁵⁷ "History and Cultural Life in the Town of Minalin, Barrio San Isidro," p. 41, Barrio Santo Rosario, p. 83.

⁵⁸ For the complete results of the election of 1912 see, Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1913, p. 6.

was the only non-Nacionalista to survive at either the provincial or insular level in 1916.⁵⁹ Under the provisions of the newly enacted Jones Bill, the Nacionalistas elected the governor, Honorio Ventura; both members of the provincial board, Pablo Angeles David and Felix Bautista; one assemblyman, Pedro Abad Santos; and two senators, Liongson and Isauro Gabaldon.⁶⁰ Among the losers in the senatorial race were Jose Alejandrino and Mariano Lim, formerly acting governor and a Progresista stalwart.⁶¹

In the elections of 1919 the Nacionalistas swept everything. Ventura and Abad Santos were returned, Pablo Angeles David replaced Gutierrez David in the other assembly seat, while Jose Narciso and Saturnino Ocampo took the positions on the provincial board. And, finally, Ceferino de Leon, in a special race, replaced the recently deceased Francisco Liongson in the senate.⁶² Losers included Jose Alejandrino again and Juan Nepomuceno, aspiring to the office of provincial board member.⁶³ Both these candidates represented the newly formed Democrata party, built upon the ruins of the old Progresista party.⁶⁴ No

⁵⁹ Election results for 1916 come from Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 7; "Funcionarios Provinciales . . ." [ca. 1916], QP; List of the Representatives, 1917, QP; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 6, 1916, p. 1.

⁶⁰ Isauro Gabaldon came from neighboring Nueva Ecija. Under the Jones Bill, the third senatorial district included Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, and Bulacan. Perhaps some arrangement existed between local leaders to see that two provinces from the third district were represented in the senate. Gabaldon later served as resident commissioner in Washington from 1920 to 1928.

⁶¹ Lim was about to have bigger troubles. In early 1917 he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to jail for almost two years on a charge of estafa [*Manila Daily Bulletin*, April 2, 1917, p. 1].

⁶² For election results in 1919 see Gatbonton, pp. 64-65; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, June 9, 1919, p. 5.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, October 29, 1919, p. 4; Renato D. Tayag, *The Sinners of Angeles* (Pampanga: By the author, 1960), pp. 17-19.

⁶⁴ The Democrata party came into being in 1914 as a dissident offshoot of the Nacionalista party. After the strong showing of the Nacionalistas at the polls in 1916, the Democratas and the Progresistas fused, taking the name of the former. By that time the Progresistas had given up their position favoring gradual advance toward independence. The Democratas ad-

greater indication of Nacionalista strength in this period existed than the switch of Macario Arnedo to that party. Arnedo had led the Progresista opposition in the first decade of American rule and had taken his stand in those days against the principles of the Nacionalistas. After his defeat in 1912, however, he dropped out of the political spotlight for seven years. Then in 1919 his name appeared on an invitation list, along with other Nacionalista followers from Pampanga, to attend a dinner given by Quezon at party headquarters.⁶⁵ Two years later Arnedo was elected as a Nacionalista in a special balloting to replace Ventura as governor.⁶⁶ The latter moved to Manila to take up a position as chief of the executive bureau.⁶⁷ With the conversion of Arnedo and the complete monopolization of political offices in 1919, Nacionalistas reached the height of their power in Pampanga during the second decade of American rule.

Several modifiers need be added to this description of the Nacionalista triumph. Ideological differences between the Nacionalistas and their chief opponents meant little or nothing by 1919. By that time Arnedo belonged to the Nacionalista party and Jose Alejandrino, the old revolutionary fighter, headed in Pampanga the Democrata party, the successor of the more pro-American Progresista party. Teodoro Kalaw has pointed out that each party in 1919 claimed to be the standard-bearer of the campaign for immediate independence. The distinctions of the preceding decade were completely lost.

Also, Nacionalista political victory did not necessarily produce effective party discipline. In the election of 1919, for example, Ventura had to run against fellow party member Monico Mercado as well as the Democrata candidate, Olimpio Guan-

vocated more or less the same ideals vis-à-vis the United States as the Nacionalistas [Kalaw, pp. 355-359].

⁶⁵ List of those invited to attend a dinner on September 14, 1919, at "El Club Nacionalista," QP.

⁶⁶ Gathbonton, p. 65; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, February 17, 1921, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Notice of the appointment of Honorio Ventura as executive secretary appeared in Memorandum of F. M. Guerrero, Secretary of the Senate, January 25, 1921, QP.

zon.⁶⁸ That same year six Nacionalistas ran in the race for two seats on the provincial board. Party identity, thus, did not preclude some degree of personal ambition and disunity in the matter of office seeking. And, finally, the triumph of the Nacionalista party introduced no new names to the province's political elite. All the officeholders came from prominent old families dating back at least to the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ And even though the government expanded the electorate in 1919 to encompass those literate in the native dialect,⁷⁰ the voters cast ballots for candidates drawn from the same group as before.

Insular political chiefs, particularly Quezon, made allegiance to the party worthwhile. Quezon fixed many matters and looked out for the welfare of the Nacionalista faithful. As early as 1912, Quezon, then holding the position of resident commissioner, journeyed to Pampanga to boost the position of the recently elected governor, Francisco Liongson. In a speech delivered in the capital,⁷¹ Quezon reminded the audience that, while Liongson had lost an earlier election in the courts, his recent victory at the polls vindicated his position and that, indeed, Liongson was the real governor all along in spite of what the courts had decreed. Quezon thus sought to dispel any lingering

⁶⁸ The race for governor turned out to be a close one. Ventura not only had to run against another Nacionalista, but he also had earned the enmity of a number of farmers because of his strict enforcement of the rinderpest vaccination. Many, apparently, were displeased by the inconvenience caused by the program [Tayag, p. 18]. The Nacionalistas showed enough divisiveness and the Democratas enough strength so that Guanzon was elected governor in 1922.

⁶⁹ Names of municipal presidents for this period come from HDP and QP; Gatbonton, pp. 60, 63, 64; Henson, p. 74; *Capagmasusian Qñg Aldo Pañgasilang Ning Magalang, Diciembre 1963* (Magalang, Pampanga: n.p., 1963), p. 31.

⁷⁰ Unfortunately, provincial election statistics do not remain for 1919. Still, the new election law probably did not enfranchise a large number of the lower class in Pampanga. According to interviews carried out by the author, even literacy in Capampangan was beyond the grasp of the vast majority of tenant farmers.

⁷¹ Speech given by the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines in the United States, at a Banquet Given in His Honor in the Provincial Building of Pampanga, October 18, 1912, QP.

doubts about Liongson's position in the province as a result of the long litigation.

When he achieved the senate presidency, Quezon possessed many more opportunities to perform services for the Nacionalistas. He had the right to appoint young men to the Constabulary Officers' Academy in Baguio,⁷² and he could arrange appointments to such offices as justice of the peace.⁷³ Local politicians in Pampanga developed the habit of writing to Quezon when they had friends or relatives who needed a favor or employment.⁷⁴ Even in his capacity as a director of the Manila Railroad Company, Quezon pulled strings for the party. When a station agent needed time off from work to organize a Nacionalista election protest, Quezon obliged.⁷⁵ In another instance, Quezon was requested through a resolution of the Municipal Council of Macabebe in 1919 to arrange for express trains to stop at Apalit. It seemed that cloth peddlers from Macabebe, who depended on the railroad for their travel from province to province, needed the express stop close to their home town in order that they might move about more efficiently and economically.⁷⁶

⁷² Quezon solicited names from provincial leaders to fill appointments to the academy; Telegram from Manuel L. Quezon to Honorio Ventura, January 20, 1920, QP.

⁷³ Letter from Justino Sevilla to Manuel Quezon, December 18, 1917, QP; Letter from Elpidio Quirino, Secretary to Quezon, to Justino Sevilla, February 2, 1918, QP; Letter from Elpidio Quirino to the Secretary of Justice, February 8, 1918, QP; Letter from Elpidio Quirino to Justino Sevilla, Justice of the Peace of Arayat, February 11, 1918, QP.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Letter from Governor Macario Arnedo to Manuel Quezon, November 9, 1921, QP, seeking employment for his (Arnedo's) godson as a provincial fiscal. This letter helps explain the conversion of Arnedo and, undoubtedly, others to the Nacionalista party. Quezon could arrange so many things for the faithful that the most practical course was to join his ranks.

⁷⁵ Letter from Pedro Villanueva, Angeles, Pampanga, to Manuel Quezon, July 10, 1919, QP.

⁷⁶ Extraordinary Session of the Town Council of Macabebe, 20 October 1919, QP. The following excerpt describes the role of the cloth traders in the economic life of the town:

The Macabebe cloth-venders go to all parts of the Archipelago, traveling chiefly

Quezon became the source for a multitude of favors, big and small. He arranged for the inclusion of Pampanga in a bill to appropriate ₱20,000,000 for irrigation facilities in a number of provinces. The request for this favor came from Nacionalista provincial board members Jose Narciso and Saturnino Ocampo.⁷⁷ When some citizens of Minalin had a complaint against their parish priest, they wrote to Quezon who resolved the matter for them by turning it over to Bishop O'Doherty of Manila.⁷⁸ Even the poor of the province occasionally called upon the senate president for help. When the Americans at Fort Stotsenberg closed off access of their barrio to a public school, a group of laborers from Barrio Sapang Bato in Angeles humbly petitioned Quezon to plead their case with the American authorities.⁷⁹ In this matter Quezon, rather than a member of the Pampangan elite, obviously had the reputation for achieving action.

With these accommodations, Quezon fostered the tightening of party ties between the Pampangan and central leadership. Nacionalistas monopolized political office in the province thanks, in large measure, to his support; but, then, the price was increasing dependence on that largesse for their success. In this way Quezon built his party.⁸⁰ And he apparently worked from a plan. As early as 1913, while still in Washington as resident

on foot and usually in parties of two or more. Generally the cloth sold by them is purchased in Manila.

These cloth-venders bring much money every year to the town. In this way the place does not become poor [Jacinto A. Castro, "History and Economic Life of Macabebe," Beyer Series, p. 14].

⁷⁷ Excerpt from the Minutes of the Special Session Held by the Provincial Board of Pampanga, at San Fernando, on the 21st day of October of 1921, QP.

⁷⁸ Letter of some citizens of Minalin, Pampanga, to Manuel Quezon, January 15, 1918, QP; Letter of Manuel Quezon to Most Reverend M. J. O'Doherty, Archbishop of Manila, January 24, 1918, QP.

⁷⁹ Letter from members of "Aguman Bulaklak ng Bato" [The Flower of Sapang Bato] to Manuel L. Quezon, June 25, 1920, QP.

⁸⁰ Quezon used this same procedure in building his party in other provinces. I would like to acknowledge my debt to Miss Natividad Jardiel, curator of the collection, and Professors Michael P. Onorato and Gerald Wheeler for their helpful comments on this subject.

commissioner, he kept lists of names of influential people in Pampanga and in the other provinces. He knew from such lists who favored independence and who supported him.⁸¹ Further, Quezon maintained close personal ties with a number of important figures in the province, including Monico Mercado and Eugenio Blanco.⁸² Undoubtedly such friendships yielded helpful political information. And Quezon courted political figures in the province, not only with favors but also with invitations to social affairs in Manila. Until his appointment to the executive bureau in 1921, Governor Ventura, for example, traveled frequently to the city to attend various functions, official and unofficial, at the request of Quezon.⁸³ The corps of political lieutenants Quezon had developed from among the Pampangan elite consisted of recently elected officials together with a number of local party stalwarts, and in August 1919, perhaps by way of a victory celebration, they were invited to attend a dinner in

⁸¹ List of "Liders," or persons of influence in public opinion in various towns in certain provinces, 1913, QP. Quezon even maintained in his personal files lists of those who subscribed to the periodical *The Filipino People* which he published and edited in Washington. The journal, needless to say, reflected his point of view and the subscribers, by and large, adhered to that point of view. See General List of Subscribers to the Periodical "The Filipino People" in the Philippine Islands, ca. 1915, QP.

⁸² Telegram from Eugenio Blanco, Macabebe, to Manuel Quezon, October 4, 1916, QP; Letter from Quezon to Blanco, October 4, 1916, QP; Letter from Blanco to Quezon, January 16, 1917, QP; Letter from Quezon to Blanco, January 24, 1917, QP; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, June 14, 1915, p. 1; Letter from Monico Mercado, Guagua, to Manuel Quezon, August 18, 1911, QP; Letter from Quezon to Mercado, October 20, 1920, QP.

⁸³ The following list indicates the kind of affairs attended by Ventura in Manila at the request of Quezon: Tea Party for Mrs. Liao Chung Kai; Luncheon for Frank McIntyre of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, August 4, 1915; Luncheon for Mr. and Mrs. Washburn Child [Mr. Child wrote for *Collier's* magazine], March 29, 1917; Governor's Dinner, February 8, 1920. All these invitations can be found in QP. Quezon also asked Ventura to serve on the general committee to prepare a garden fête for the benefit of the Filipino YMCA [Letter from Ventura to Quezon, March 21, 1918, QP]. In addition, Ventura entertained in Pampanga visitors from Manila, at the request of Quezon [Telegram from Felipe Buencamino Jr., Secretary to Quezon, to Ventura, July 12, 1915, QP; Letter from Buencamino to Ventura, July 14, 1915, QP].

Manila at Nacionalista headquarters.⁸⁴ They had all served the party well and represented an integral part of the first political machine in Philippine history.

But, more important to the history of Pampanga, these new political leaders found their interests and direction more and more emanating from Manila. Their positions, at least to some degree, now depended on their relations with the central leadership, and their involvement in party affairs came no doubt at the expense of their concern with purely provincial matters. Unfortunately, the party distractions came at a time of change and crisis for Pampanga, when a weakening of local leadership could least be afforded.

Agricultural progress

The most far-reaching and long-standing impact of American colonial policy upon the Philippine economy, and perhaps society, came about as a result of the tariff concessions granted by the U.S. Congress beginning in 1909. As already noted, the Payne-Aldrich Tariff created a new, duty-free market for large quantities of Philippine agricultural produce, including 300,000 tons of sugar. The Underwood-Simmons Tariff of 1913 went a step further and removed even the quantity restrictions found in the Payne Act. From then until the 1930s, Philippine farmers enjoyed free access to markets where their products could effectively compete. In the broadest terms, these changes in market conditions brought new prosperity, somewhat unevenly to be sure, to many sectors of the economy and induced greater production and efficiency of production in the agricultural sphere. Essentially a new era of modern commercial farming, much more technical in its orientation, was born in the

⁸⁴ The list of guests included Eduardo Gutierrez David, Felix Bautista, Pablo Angeles David, Jose Luciano, Andres Luciano, Pedro Abad Santos, Luis Dizon, Pedro Valdes, Emiliano J. Valdes, Tomas Lazatin, Rafael de Leon, and Monico Mercado [Invitation List, August 23, 1919, QP]. The presence of Gutierrez David on this list indicates that even this strong hold-out may finally have joined the Nacionalista ranks.

second decade of American occupation. Advanced processing techniques, the newest in labor-saving farm machinery, and cost accounting all became part of the agricultural scene. The tariff concessions of 1909 and 1913 instigated, in fact, a dramatic advance in commercial agriculture, just as the opening of the Philippines to world trade had stimulated a similar breakthrough in the nineteenth century. Further, technical changes in the second decade of the twentieth century substantially terminated the agricultural era that began around 1820.

The Philippine sugar industry was one of the chief beneficiaries of the new tariff setup. The figures in Table 15 indicate to some extent the growth of commerce in sugar to 1921. Two observations follow from these figures. First of all, making allowances for fluctuating local weather conditions and temporary

Table 15.
PHILIPPINE SUGAR EXPORT, 1908-1921
(IN LONG TONS)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total export</i>	<i>Percent of 1908 export^a</i>	<i>Export to U.S.</i>	<i>Percent of total to U.S.</i>
1908	142,448	100	45,969	32
1909	127,284	89	52,234	41
1910	119,552	84	99,109	82
1911	205,741	144	184,694	89
1912	193,962	136	131,763	67
1913	154,848	109	30,232	19
1914	232,761	163	166,851	71
1915	207,678	146	81,532	39
1916	332,157	233	129,801	39
1917	202,654	142	61,392	30
1918	268,940	189	104,405	39
1919	133,910	94	31,651	23
1920	177,491	125	121,979	68
1921	285,295	200	148,101	51

^a The base year 1908 was both the last full year of production before the Payne Act and the best year of sugar export since 1898.

Source: Adapted from George H. Fairchild, Rafael Corpus, and Felipe Buencamino, Jr., (comps.), *Facts and Statistics about the Philippine Sugar Industry* (Manila: Philippine Sugar Association, 1928), Table I.

setbacks during World War I and its immediate aftermath, sugar exports moved toward doubling between 1908 and 1921. And secondly, as sugar exports rose, the American share of those exports also increased. Access to U.S. markets clearly played a role in the prosperity of the Philippine sugar industry.

But agricultural development must also be measured in terms of its innovations, and between 1911 and 1921 sugar farming became the most technically advanced industry in the Philippines. The major symbol of this progress was the sugar central, a large factory for the better processing of the cane. By 1921, twenty-six such centrals operated in the Philippines. Their milling capacities varied widely, between 100 and 3,600 metric tons of cane per day.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, even the smallest could handle much more cane than the antiquated steam mills. The centrals, using greater quantities of power and a modern system of heavy rollers, extracted much higher percentages of liquid sucrose from the cane, up to 25 percent more than the old-style sugar mills. More importantly, however, the end product of the centrals was a much better grade of raw sugar in terms of its freedom from molasses and other impurities.⁸⁶ The use of vacuum pans to lower the boiling temperature of the liquid sugar, and centrifugals to separate more efficiently the sugar from the molasses, facilitated the new processing.⁸⁷ The sugar thus obtained was more suitable for world markets and of a quality almost impossible to reach with the older methods. By 1921, at least 35 percent of all sugar produced in the Philippines

⁸⁵ *Facts and Statistics*, Table III.

⁸⁶ Cleve W. Hines, *Cane Production and Sugar Manufacture in the Philippine Islands*, Government of the Philippine Islands, Bureau of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 33 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1919), p. 200. With rare exception, sugar produced in the Philippines was sold as raw sugar. Raw meant unrefined, i.e. not reduced to small white granules. Depending on the quality of the cane and the quality of the processing, raw sugar came from mills in various shades from brown to very light yellow, and in various bulks from solid blocks to heavy granular composition. Refining was usually done in Europe or America for exported raw sugar.

⁸⁷ Hines' book contains the most detailed information on sugar processing and the equipment of the day.

was centrifugal, and centrifugal sugar for the first time surpassed muscovado in exportation.⁸⁸

The centrals were only the largest and most visible signs of the technological breakthrough. The appearance of tractors, agricultural experiment and demonstration stations, and new scientific literature accentuated the innovative atmosphere in the world of farming. Particularly the literature. In 1913 the Bureau of Agriculture hired a sugar specialist named Cleve W. Hines, who for the next seven years conducted experiments to improve all phases of sugar production and published his findings, mainly in the *Philippine Agricultural Review*. He ran almost a one-man campaign to convince farmers of the economic value of scientific methods. Hines, American businessman George W. Fairchild, and L. W. Thurlow of the Bureau of Science constantly preached the gospel of the central as the answer to all the sugar farmers' problems.⁸⁹ The growth of the Philippine sugar industry in this period testified to the success of these popularizers of the new methods.

But agricultural developments in Pampanga did not necessarily keep up with overall progress in the rest of the Philippine sugar industry. Indeed, the province really lagged behind other sugar areas such as Negros Occidental in modernizing its production. Not until 1919 did Pampanga have its first sugar central, by which time ten were already operating in Negros. Pampanga only completed two centrals by 1921: Pampanga Sugar Mills (Pasumil) in Floridablanca and Pampanga Sugar Development Corporation (Pasudeco) in San Fernando.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Philippine Islands, Bureau of Commerce and Industry, *Commercial Handbook of the Philippine Islands, 1924* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924), p. 81; Memorandum Regarding Production of Sugar in the Philippine Islands, Manila, October 24, 1924, QP.

⁸⁹ L. W. Thurlow, "Brief Outline of the Sugar Industry in the Philippines," *Manila Daily Bulletin*, August 25, 1921, p. 20; L. W. Thurlow and J. F. Armstrong, "The Manufacture of 96 Degree Sugar by the Uses of Open Kettles (Cauas) and the Vacuum Pan," Philippine Islands, Bureau of Science, *Press Bulletin* 50 (n/d), pp. 1, 7.

⁹⁰ However, it should be noted that the two centrals in Pampanga, although they came later, had far greater milling capacity than most of the centrals constructed earlier in Negros.

Only a thorough and comparative study can fully explain why Pampanga fell behind Negros and other areas in the modernity of its sugar industry. Here only some hypotheses may be offered. The building of centrals demanded heavy initial investment, up to ₱12,000,000. It was understandable that entrepreneurs, both native and foreign, first sought the best growing areas and financial arrangements to protect their large cash outlay. Overall, Negros Occidental presented better opportunities for large-scale commercial farming than other areas in the Philippines. Experienced in raising sugar, landowners there held large consolidated tracts of as many as 250 hectares which were worked mainly by paid labor. With a minimum of difficulty these hacenderos could commit their resources completely to sugar and sign thirty-year milling contracts with the centrals.⁹¹ Only with enough large, extended agreements could a central owner hope to run his facilities near capacity and have some assurance of profiting from his investment.

By contrast, opportunities in Pampanga, initially at least, appeared much more limited. Individual holdings, although sometimes extensive, were more scattered and divided between plantings of rice and sugar. Immediately to have converted small fields into relatively large unencumbered tracts capable of modern and efficient commercial cultivation would have created economic chaos. Moreover, the strain upon the tenant system might well have proved catastrophic. Usually tenants and landlords split the harvest fifty-fifty under the casamac system. How could the harvest then be profitably divided again with the central at the prevailing rate of 60 percent for the farmer and 40 percent for the central? Before the value of central sugar was fully appreciated, the economic risks must have seemed enormous to the Pampangans. Furthermore, Pampanga had a population

⁹¹ Hugo H. Miller, *Economic Conditions in the Philippines* (Boston: Ginn, 1913), pp. 178-181; Robert E. Huke, *Shadows on the Land: An Economic Geography of the Philippines* (Manila: Bookmark, 1963), pp. 313-314.

density more than two and one-half times as great as Negros,⁹² and the overwhelming majority of its farmers were tenants. At the outset the pervasiveness of the tenant system must have seemed a big disadvantage to central-minded planters and investors alike. The tenants, part of the traditional social order, could not be transformed into modern sugar plantation workers as readily as could the migratory laborers of the Visayas. The risks to social stability of introducing new systems of farming and new complex machinery must certainly have inhibited landowners from acting as freely as their counterparts to the south.

Early investments in Negros also apparently generated further outside help to planters there in the form of government preferential treatment. The Harrison regime, anxious to encourage economic development, placed insular funds at the disposal of Negros farmers by making deposits in local banks. Sugar planters in Negros thus could borrow substantial sums for their agricultural purposes. This special treatment earned Harrison a rebuke in 1914 from Pampanga's planters, who charged favoritism.⁹³ Whatever the reasons, Pampanga continued to produce only muscovado sugar for most of the decade.

The reliance on muscovado seriously curtailed Pampanga's access to profitable world markets. Since the late nineteenth century, United States and European refineries accepted only better grades of raw sugar from various parts of the world, including Cuba, Java, and the beet areas of North America and the Continent. Philippine muscovado continued to sell only in the less valuable local markets and in China. The muscovado producers could not even enjoy to the fullest the years of prosperity for sugar created by World War I. The destruction of Europe's beet sugar crops lowered world production to the point where all grades of raw sugar were acceptable. Nevertheless, in

⁹² In 1918 population density reached 313 per square mile in Pampanga compared to only 127 per square mile in Negros Occidental. Pampanga thus had the sixth highest density of any province (excluding Manila) while Negros Occidental ranked only twenty-fifth [*Census, 1918*, II, 28].

⁹³ *Manila Times*, May 27, 1914, p. 1.

1918 the shortage of shipping was so great that only the high-grade Philippine centrifugal sugar could be transported profitably to America. Low-grade muscovado still depended on its normal outlets. Only in 1919 did the muscovado growers begin to cash in on the unusual times—and only because of the unique conditions created by the Chinese boycott of all Japanese goods including Taiwanese sugar.⁹⁴ For that one year Pampanga's muscovado sold in large quantities at six times its normal price.⁹⁵ In 1920 world shortages of sugar again favored Pam-

⁹⁴ On world market conditions in the decade see Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, *Yearbook of the Philippine Islands, 1920* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), p. 150; Huke, p. 313; Philippine Commercial Agencies, (comp.), *Economic Resources and Development of the Philippine Islands* (Manila: Philippine Commercial Agencies, 1920), pp. 54-55; "Notes by C. W. Hines, Sugar Technologist," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, X (1910), 301-302, 458; Letter from George Fairchild to Mr. George M. Rolph of the Sugar Equalization Board, Food Administration, Washington, BIA, 4122-165; Memorandum from George Fairchild to Secretary of War Newton Baker concerning "The Question of Philippine Products in Limited Warehouse Facilities," July 23, 1918, QP; *Commercial Handbook*, p. 80; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, July 3, 1919, p. 1; "Philippine Sugar Crop Conditions," April 24, 1920, BIA, 4122-217 A; *Annual Report of the Governor General . . . 1921*, pp. 175-176; Thurlow, "Brief Outline of the Sugar Industry," p. 20.

⁹⁵ To arrive at an accurate assessment of the price fluctuations of Pampangan sugar in this decade is a difficult task. The scattered price information, from a wide variety of sources, was impossible to reduce to a single scale because it was based on many different systems of weights and measurements and gradings of sugar. However, Mariano Henson has put together a chart of the average price each year at which the sugar from the Henson properties sold per picul [Mariano A. Henson, "Graphic Study of 61 Years of Sugar-Cane and Palay Crops of the Direct Descendants of Mariano Henson in the Haciendas Pampang-Bangcal and Luyus-Tabun, Angeles, Pampanga, Philippines," (Angeles, Pampanga: ca. 1949)]. The figures have the advantage of consistency and present, at least in relative terms, the price fluctuations from 1911 to 1921. Further, the figures more or less coincide with the overall Pampangan prices, although the comparison is necessarily a rough one. Here are Henson's rounded quotations:

1911-12—P6.00	1917-18—P 5.50
1912-13—P5.00	1918-19—P13.00
1913-14—P5.00	1919-20—P32.00
1914-15—P6.50	1920-21—P10.00
1915-16—P6.00	1921-22—P 7.00
1916-17—P5.50	

panga somewhat; increased shipping tonnage meant opportunities for muscovado on East Coast American markets for the first time in twenty-five years, though the prices fell far below the record highs of the preceding year. By 1921, as world production returned to normal, muscovado sugar again moved to its old market at old prices.

With the situation in sugar so unpromising for most of the period, Pampangan farmers tended to switch to rice cultivation. In many places in the province the two crops were interchangeable on the same land, thus allowing the farmers some degree of flexibility in their choice depending on market conditions. While no accurate or consistent production records were kept, the references to rice imply greater attention to this crop than in previous years. The first years of the period, from 1911 to 1914, went badly for rice farmers due to poor weather patterns, floods, and locusts. The nadir came in 1912 when production may have slipped to as low as 15 to 30 percent of normal. However, during the three years 1915, 1916, and 1917 farmers brought in bumper crops and prices of the cereal rose somewhat. In 1917 Pampanga ranked fourth among the provinces in rice production with 1,422,000 cavans. After a slight dip in production in 1918 due to storms, the situation in rice improved dramatically in 1919.⁹⁶ An Asian-wide shortage of rice created so great a crisis in the cereal-importing Philippines that native supplies could not keep up with the demand. Under these circumstances, prices threatened to reach prohibitive heights for poorer segments of the population. Only government price controls and a program of supervised supply and distribution kept the emergency within limits. Even so, prices in provinces like

⁹⁶ Information on rice production in this period comes from the annual reports of the Pampanga governor as well as Henson, *Angeles*, pp. 32-33; Gatbonton, pp. 60-62; "Historical Data of the Municipality of San Luis," HDP, p. 20; *Manila Times*, July 18, 1911, p. 1; April 23, 1912, p. 1; Henson, "Graphic Chart"; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1916, p. 6; Crop Statistics taken from the report of the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources for the year ending June 30, 1917, QP; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, August 7, 1915, p. 4; September 27, 1915, p. 14; January 16, 1919, pp. 1, 4.

rice-exporting Pampanga rose to their highest peak of the decade during 1919 and 1920.⁹⁷ At this time Pampanga probably devoted almost twice as much land to rice as to sugar.⁹⁸

Not until 1921 did the balance begin to shift in favor of sugar. During the emergency, rice growers had been frustrated by government price controls and they petitioned Manila to reset the upper limits, threatening to cut production if prices were not raised.⁹⁹ In 1921 importation of rice from Saigon returned to normal and, in that year, rice farmers suddenly found it necessary to ask the government to curtail imports to protect native prices.¹⁰⁰ Some technological advances assisted the expansion of rice production between 1911 and 1920, although the innovations were not as significant as in sugar. New, more productive seeds came into general use, and the number of steam rice mills in the province increased. The Bureau of Agriculture organized traveling demonstration stations to popularize the newest seeds and tools.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, mechanization did not take hold and throughout the period farmers grew rice in the traditional manner. This technological lag probably played some role in the eventual move toward greater emphasis on sugar cultivation in Pampanga. Moreover, sugar markets be-

⁹⁷ For the story of the "rice crisis of 1919-1920" and Pampanga's reaction see, Henson, "Graphic Chart"; Philippine Islands, Governor General, *Report of the Governor General of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), pp. 201-209; *Annual Report of the Governor General . . . 1921*, pp. 176-177, 243; Letter from E. J. Westerhouse, General Manager of the Manila Railroad Co., September 26, 1919, to Ty Camco *et al.*, Rice Dealers, QP.

⁹⁸ Between 1917 and 1920 area in Pampanga devoted to rice cultivation rose from 50,762 hectares to 65,568 hectares, while in 1918 the province's farmers planted 30,804 hectares with sugar [Crop Statistics . . . 1917, QP; "Crop Statistics for the Philippines, Year Ending 1920," *Philippine Agricultural Review*, XIV (1921), 6].

⁹⁹ Resolution of the Board of Pampangan Farmers, October 15, 1919.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Augusto Gonzales, Secretary of the Agricultural Association of Pampanga, to Rafael Palma, October 17, 1921, QP.

¹⁰¹ On improvements in rice technology see Henson, *Angeles*, p. 33; *Commercial Handbook*, p. 143; "History and Cultural Life of the Town of Santa Rita and Its Barrios, Barrio San Vicente," p. 4; *The Philippine Farmer*, April, 1915, p. 5.

came more profitable because of the war and offered greater promise than ever before, especially with the coming of the two centrals to the province. Rice output slipped from around 1,400,000 cavans in 1920 to 627,000 cavans in 1922.¹⁰² Only at the very end of the period did sugar come to dominate the scene in Pampanga.

In spite of fluctuating market conditions during much of the period and the bad harvest years until 1915, the Pampangans greatly expanded their overall agricultural activities. The sheer proliferation of notarial registers needed to record transactions in this period attested to the reversal of the lethargy that plagued the preceding decade.¹⁰³ And once again the number of retro sales rose, both absolutely and in relation to the number of straight land sales.¹⁰⁴ The overall growth in the number of land rentals, mortgages of land and farming equipment, and homestead applications gave further evidence of new agricultural vitality as farmers attempted to return to full-scale production.¹⁰⁵ After a long quietus, Pampangan speculation in Tarlac farmland flourished once more as agricultural property climbed in value.¹⁰⁶ Pampangans seemed optimistic about farming for the first time under the American regime.

The vision of profitable world markets undoubtedly en-

¹⁰² "Crop Statistics . . . 1920," p. 6; *Commercial Handbook*, p. 143.

¹⁰³ Notarial information for this section comes from 139 registers, which may represent as little as one-third the total number relating to Pampanga from 1911 to 1921 found in the National Archives. The complete list of registers can be obtained from the catalogue available in the modern documents section of the Philippine National Archives.

¹⁰⁴ The registers yielded entries referring to 210 pacto de retro sales and 215 absolute sales of farmland. In addition there were 65 simple mortgages with farmland as the collateral and 29 involving other farming capital equipment. In all these transactions Pampangans were the contracting parties.

¹⁰⁵ The registers recorded 23 applications by Pampangans for homesteads on public land in Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija. There were also recorded 44 land rentals and four equipment rentals.

¹⁰⁶ Entries referring to Pampangans involved in land transactions in Tarlac broke down into 97 retro sales, 46 absolute sales, 9 mortgages, and 10 land leases. Many of these transactions included large tracts of land.

couraged this feeling of optimism, but more tangible benefits kept the momentum alive. The insular government continued to undertake public works projects, including new town markets, beneficial to farming interests. Railroad spurs reached out from the main line to bring ready transportation to agricultural areas. The provincial government augmented the network of roads largely to suit agricultural needs. The attempts of the Bureau of Agriculture to publicize the latest farming techniques have already been noted. In 1920 the bureau even put up a demonstration farm in Mexico to show off the newest advances in sugar growing. The insular government also passed a bill in 1915 for the creation of rural credit associations. Coupled with a law which limited agricultural loans to 12 percent, these subscriber-sponsored credit organizations were intended to alleviate the problem of usurious interest rates in rural areas. Farmers in twenty of the twenty-one towns of Pampanga formed such cooperatives over the next few years, each with an average capitalization of around ₱6,000.¹⁰⁷ But these credit associations aided only subscribing members, and loans from other sectors of the economy affected far more significantly the progress of farming in Pampanga.

The rapid loosening of general credit offered perhaps the strongest incentive for the Pampangans once more to take an aggressive approach to crop raising. As early as 1911, Governor Arnedo noted that the usurious moneylending practices so prevalent during the preceding decade had been curtailed. He felt that the availability of both markets and mortgages from the Agricultural Bank had brought about this situation, and the en-

¹⁰⁷ On agricultural cooperatives in general and in Pampanga in particular see, Julian C. Balmaceda, *Agricultural Credit Cooperative Associations in the Philippines*, Government of the Philippine Islands, Bureau of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 40 (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924); *Manila Daily Bulletin*, August 24, 1918, Section II, 4. PNA, registers 12227, 12240, 21075, 21098, 21139, and 21192 contain the articles of incorporation of six of Pampanga's associations. The registers also reveal a number of other kinds of partnership among landowners for the purpose of extending credit to fellow members. All of these ventures were small and quite temporary in nature.

tries in the notarial registers tend to confirm in part his observations. A number of mortgages and loans put out in 1911 by Pampangans to farmers had 15 and 18 percent interest rates; after that the rates went down to 10 and 12 percent in such transactions. The Agricultural Bank, however, did not supply most of the credit to the Pampangans. While its interest rates were reasonable, 8 to 10 percent, the bank required for its mortgages solid titles, which many Pampangans did not possess. Further, Agricultural Bank mortgages were usually for substantial sums and were granted only to large landholders.¹⁰⁸ Farmers demanding smaller loans had to find sources elsewhere. The majority of agriculturists still relied on pacto de retro advances, mortgages, and loans from their friends, relatives, and native entrepreneurs, with and without interest, to start their planting. The hope of profits made these traditional sources of capital flow freely again.

Anticipatory crop sales, a form of credit rarely used before, became more common in this period. To assure adequate supplies for their expanding markets, sugar and, to a lesser extent, rice buyers offered advances to farmers in order to guarantee delivery of their harvest. In the years from 1911 to 1915 a number of individual native entrepreneurs bought under this system, but several Chinese buyers, including Tan Cungco and Yap Siong of Angeles, and two natives, Emiliano J. Valdes of Angeles and Manuel Urquico of Tarlac, dominated this field.¹⁰⁹ These anticipatory sales represented only one small source of credit before 1916. After that time, however, sugar farmers came to rely on them much more heavily due to changing market conditions.

Sometime between 1915 and 1916 the agricultural situation in Pampanga took a turn for the better. The plagues which had

¹⁰⁸ Information on Agricultural Bank loans comes from eleven entries referring to loan applications in the notarial registers. The average loan sought was for more than ₱8,000, the highest being ₱20,000, the smallest ₱2,000.

¹⁰⁹ All the information on anticipatory crop sales comes from the notarial registers.

in the years just past inhibited production abruptly abated. Pampangans also found market prices rising, even for the lower grades of sugar. Credit opportunities improved even more because of two new sources. In 1915 the Calamba Sugar Central in Laguna Province began putting up mortgage money at 8 percent to farmers in Pampanga in order to secure access to sufficient sugar for their milling operation. For the next five years Calamba offered large and small amounts at 8 percent on all kinds of agricultural machines, animals, and property in Pampanga.¹¹⁰ In 1916 the Philippine National Bank acquired the assets and liabilities of the Agricultural Bank as well as the latter's responsibility to supply capital for farming. The PNB was less cautious about lending funds and became a major source of large sums at 8 and 10 percent to big landowners.¹¹¹ Indeed, the bank's profligacy with mortgage money brought a sharp rebuke from the Wood-Forbes mission in 1920. But, from the standpoint of the Pampangans, there was the stimulus of unprecedented amounts of new cash pouring into the province from the PNB and the Calamba central.

This proliferation of credit sources created a somewhat unusual situation: a buyer's market for loans. From 1916 on Chinese dealers, central agents, and the largest native merchants competed for sugar crops and offered advances in the form of the most favorable loans and mortgages possible. Farmers could shop around for the best terms, and some of the least desirable arrangements declined in use. Mortgages with native entrepreneurs, always a less agreeable contract, became far less prominent after 1916 than before. Small-time native entrepreneurs could not compete in the field of anticipatory crop sales; only Valdes and Urquico did any buying this way in the second half of the period. Also such foreign export houses as Warner Barnes and Smith, Bell and Company could do little business in Pam-

¹¹⁰ The notarial registers recorded 104 mortgages, big and small, by Calamba Sugar Central to Pampanga planters.

¹¹¹ PNA, registers. Twenty-eight PNB loans to Pampangan farmers averaged just under ₱4,000. The smallest (just one) was ₱600 and the largest was ₱12,000.

panga because they would not advance credit.¹¹² The farmers simply possessed better options.

A number of factors thus combined to lead Pampangans into the expansion of their agricultural activities, in spite of the market insecurities of the period. Excellent credit facilities, government encouragement in the form of technical literature and propaganda as well as new facilities, and the exceptionally high prices during part of the war years served as stimulants to increased production. In addition, sugar had a protected market and the prospect of better prices.

But no matter how strong the other incentives for growing sugar, its return as the first crop in Pampanga came only when farmers could mill with one of the new centrals. They had learned hard lessons from the failure of muscovado to sell on the best markets. Only high-grade centrifugal sugars were consistently acceptable in the United States, then the most profitable outlet for Philippine sugar. The Pampangans had experienced full warehouses and limited markets in the early years of the period. Therefore, as the value of the centrals became increasingly obvious, farmers began to seek out access to these mills. A group from the Mexico area attempted to band together in 1915 to build a central.¹¹³ The plan came to nothing and for five years a large number of Pampangans turned to Calamba Sugar Central in Laguna Province. The managers at Calamba were eager to process Pampangan sugar and offered generous mortgages as inducements. By 1917, Calamba yearly milled 4,000 tons of sugar from Pampanga cane.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, this arrangement possessed several drawbacks. The cost of shipping cane as far as Laguna reduced the margin of profit for both miller and farmer; moreover, attempts to have the freight rates on the Manila-Dagupan Railroad lowered did not succeed.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Interview with Mr. Alfredo Ganzon; Interview with Mr. Mariano A. Henson, Angeles, Pampanga, June 5, 1964.

¹¹³ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, May 27, 1915, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1921, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1915, p. 1; November 22, 1915, p. 1; December 15, 1915, p. 4; May 28, 1919, p. 1.

The railroad was already losing money and could not offer any special concessions.

On at least one occasion, the railroad failed to supply sufficient cars to meet the needs of the shippers and the cane was stacked up along the tracks for long periods.¹¹⁶ One of the qualities of sugar cane is that, after being cut, the sucrose content goes down over time. The longer the delay, the less sugar can be extracted from the cane. Hence, while the farmers waited for railroad cars, the value of their crop diminished each day. But even when the railroad functioned effectively, the long haul to Laguna, 120 kilometers, meant automatically a loss of sucrose content. Pampanga needed a central of its own.

American investors, mainly from the Calamba group, made the first real move in 1917 toward establishing a central in the province. They held certain advantages which favored their initial entry into Pampanga. The group was backed by substantial funds derived from other sugar investments in Hawaii, California, and the Philippines. They could raise the necessary capital more easily than could native investors.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, this group brought to the venture considerable experience in the sugar industry and impressive contacts in Pampanga, Manila, and Washington. The Calamba central had already been milling Pampangan sugar, and its commercial agent, Pacific Commercial Company, also represented the new group. The executive vice-president of Pacific Commercial, John Switzer, had himself concluded milling and mortgage contracts with Pampangans and thus offered the new group numerous personal

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1918, pp. 1, 4.

¹¹⁷ Information on the founding of Pasumil, its early operations, and the background of its officers and supporters comes from the following sources: Letter from Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, May 21, 1917, to H. Parker Willis, Federal Reserve Board, BIA, 4122-132; Letters from John Switzer, Pacific Commercial Company, March 29, 1917, May 24, 1918, June 25, 1918, June 27, 1918, to Manuel Quezon, QP; Letter from George Ross, March 19, 1918, to Manuel Quezon, QP; *Facts and Statistics*, p. 45; Incorporation Information, BIA, 4122-200; Philippine Islands, Bureau of Science, *Press Bulletin No. 73*, August 30, 1917, p. 3.

contacts with the planters. Moreover, the Calamba central turned over its own business with the province, which amounted to thousands of tons of raw sugar a year, to the new group incorporated in 1919 under the name of Pampanga Sugar Mills (Pasumil). Switzer's contacts reached high places in government, and he could list among his personal friends Senate President Manuel Quezon. Indeed, Quezon, originally slated as a guest speaker, sent a special message of good wishes to be read at the inaugural ceremonies of the new plant in 1919. Albert Fleishaker, one of the chief financial backers of the whole operation, enjoyed the confidence of such important Washingtonians as H. Parker Willis of the Federal Reserve Board and Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Pasumil could therefore claim a full measure of official support and recognition.

The construction of the central at Barrio Del Carmen was supervised by experienced American engineers and sugar specialists such as R. Renton Hind, whose background included years of work in Hawaii's sugar industry.¹¹⁸ He stayed on to become general manager of the Pasumil central and in the first two full years of production succeeded in more than doubling sugar output, from 8,700 metric tons of raw sugar in 1920 to 19,400 in 1921.¹¹⁹ The largest plant of its kind in the Islands, it included twenty-five miles of company railroad track reaching out through the surrounding fields to bring the cane to the milling area.¹²⁰ In every way Pasumil competed with, even surpassed, milling operations in other parts of the Philippines.

Pasumil signed milling contracts with many planters who owned large tracts of thirty-five or more hectares of sugar land.¹²¹ Most of these holdings were situated in the northern

¹¹⁸ Information on Hind and the equipment set up at the Pasumil plant can be found in *Manila Daily Bulletin*, December 1, 1919, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1921, p. 2.

¹²⁰ In addition, the Manila Railroad Company extended its Florida-blanca spur another four kilometers to tie the new central to its tracks [*Report of the Manila Railroad Company . . . 1918*, p. 24].

¹²¹ Notarial registers yielded entries concerning twenty-one milling

part of Pampanga and southern Tarlac. The majority of the planters came from the native sector of society, but there were also a number of Spaniards left from prerevolutionary days as well as other foreigners. Roberto Toledo, the Arrastia family, and Benigno Toda represented the Spanish contingent. Smith, Bell and Company and Warner Barnes milled whatever sugar they obtained in the area with Pasumil. An American from Manila, George Sellman, signed a contract for the cane on the fifty-nine hectares he purchased in Mabalacat.¹²² The attraction of Pasumil to planters, however, was not its foreign ownership and management but rather its ability to handle efficiently and economically large amounts of sugar cane. Even so, planters learned that some inferior grades of cane, formerly acceptable in muscovado milling, no longer received any return with the new centrals.¹²³ Thus, only relatively bigger planters could afford to deal with the new centrals.

Native investors did not lag far behind Pasumil in planning a central of their own. In January 1918, a year before the opening of the Del Carmen Central, a group of prominent Pampangans gathered at the home of Governor Honorio Ventura in San Fernando to form an organization which would construct a native-financed central. Numbered among the group were such large-scale planters as Jose de Leon, Augusto Gonzales, Francisco Liongson, Tomas Lazatin, Tomas Consunji, Francisco Hizon, Jose P. Henson, and Manuel Urquico.¹²⁴ To-

contracts between Pampangan planters and Pasumil. The caneland involved averaged 37 hectares. In addition, Pasumil gave eighteen mortgages to farmers to secure their crops for the central. Six contracts from southern Tarlac averaged 53 hectares [PNA, Tarlac register 12893].

¹²² Information on foreign planters dealing with Pasumil comes from a list given the author by Mariano A. Henson, a former planter with Pasumil; Interview with Mr. Jose Santos-Cuyugan, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 26, 1965; PNA, register 21097.

¹²³ Henson, *Angeles*, p. 36.

¹²⁴ Information on the founding, funding, and construction of the new central comes from Felix Joven, "Pampanga Sugar Development Co., Inc. (Pasudeco)," *Sugar News*, XXXII (1956), *passim*; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, August 27, 1920, p. 4; October 18, 1920, p. 4; Report of the General Manager and President of the Philippine National Bank to the Board of

gether these men controlled a substantial portion of the agricultural real estate of the province, and their agreement to organize represented the first realistic step toward bringing a native plant to Pampanga. The new organization, incorporated in April of 1918 as the Pampanga Sugar Development Company (Pasudeco), faced a difficult task raising money among the provincial planters. The cost of erecting centrals in the Philippines between 1915 and 1919 averaged \$4,384,000 and the war had raised the price beyond that figure. Pasumil's central cost \$7,000,000 and Pasudeco eventually paid \$5,000,000 for theirs.¹²⁵ Moreover the latter's money had to come mainly from mortgages on agricultural lands, which entailed great risks even to the big planters in the province.¹²⁶ Farmers were being asked to risk their prime source of livelihood on this new and at least partially unknown venture.

But Pasudeco was not without attractive assets. Its founders and officers came from the province's highest elite circles—economic, political, and social. Their own investment in the project offered the best incentive to the smaller planters. Further, those who invested became shareholders in the central, thereby increasing their share of the milling benefits. If they had to pay half their crop in milling costs, they could cut their losses and conceivably recoup their investment in dividends from the central. Even Pasumil could not offer such advantages. And, finally, Pasudeco too had friends in government. Jose Escaler, president of the corporation, was known in government circles, having served as an undersecretary in the Department of Justice and on the Board of Regents of the University of the

Directors on his recent trip to various centrals being financed by the Bank (June 21, 1920), BIA, 4122-222, p. 7.

¹²⁵ Letter from Senator Espiridion Guanco (Negros Occidental), November 19, 1919, to Manuel Quezon, QP. Cost here includes only the price of factory and its machinery, not the other capital equipment like railroad tracks, etc.

¹²⁶ PNA, registers. Thirteen entries show planters gave Jose L. de Leon power of attorney to mortgage their farm land to the PNB in order to raise money for the central. Only big parcels of land were included; all but two were over 100 hectares.

Philippines. He also knew the powerful Quezon personally.¹²⁷ But no better proof of government sanction existed than the fact that funding capital would come largely from Philippine National Bank loans. All such information had the effect of reducing the risk in the eyes of farmers.

After protracted negotiations, construction of the plant in San Fernando finally got underway but the Honolulu Iron Works (builders of Pasumil central as well) did not finish until March of 1921. Because of the lateness in the season, Pasudeco central did not begin its first full milling season until 1922, two years behind its foreign competitor at Floridablanca. With the completion of these two plants the age of the central was launched in Pampanga.

The full effects of scientific agriculture upon Pampangan society unfolded in the 1920s and 1930s and must be elucidated against the backdrop of rising agrarian unrest in those decades. Nevertheless, most characteristics of the new era made their appearance by 1921, and some of these changes already anticipated the more severe problems which were to follow. The basic technical components of a modern agricultural society were operative by this time. Corresponding economic and social adjustments, however, had not been made within the wider community. This cultural lag demonstrated the mostly unplanned way in which Pampanga entered the world of advanced industrial farming.

Signs of the new technology abounded, centrals and steam rice mills being only the bulkiest. Other new machinery, such as tractors, supported new cultivation. By 1919 the Ford Motor Company retained a sales representative in Pampanga for its cars and Fordson tractors. Two years later the manager of Pasumil attributed a 30 percent increase in sugar crop yields to the use of tractors in plowing. Tractors did not, however, become standard equipment on Pampanga farms as they did not function efficiently in rice fields and constituted a great expense for

¹²⁷ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, November 1, 1922, p. 8; Telegram from Manuel Quezon, February 6, 1921, to Jose Escaler, QP.

smaller farmers. But they did show up on the more extensive sugar estates, either as the property of individual planters or as the hired equipment of foreign contractors.¹²⁸ Expanded sugar cultivation demanded mechanization to keep up with the innovations in sugar processing.

As part of their adaptation to international market conditions, the landowners of Pampanga learned to look after their collective interests by organizing protective associations. These associations, formal and informal, served chiefly as lobbies to influence governmental policy in favor of Pampanga's special needs. Precedents for such groups can be found in the first decade of American rule when farmers banded together and signed petitions for tax and tariff relief from Manila and Washington. But such activities were very spasmodic in nature, emerging only in times of real crisis. The cooperative credit movement represented an attempt at joint action for the purpose of offering credit to its members. Even the government encouraged agricultural societies, and the Bureau of Agriculture in 1914 launched a campaign to put an organization in each province of the Philippines.¹²⁹ This campaign produced the Agricultural Association of Pampanga which, under the leadership of such prominent farmers as Jose de Leon and Augusto Gonzales, lobbied with some success for a number of concessions from the insular government, notably tax reduction and rice import quotas.¹³⁰ Association leaders were joined at various times by other ad hoc planter groups in trying to gain favorable action on price controls and improved railroad facilities. From 1918 to 1921 Manila was bombarded with petitions and demands from Pampanga.¹³¹ When such group efforts failed, the municipal

¹²⁸ On the use of tractors in Pampanga see *Manila Daily Bulletin*, November 26, 1919, p. 4; June 30, 1921, p. 2; April 18, 1922, p. 1.

¹²⁹ Letter from H. S. Martin, Secretary of Public Instruction, August 4, 1915, to Manuel Quezon, QP.

¹³⁰ See, for example, Memorial of the Agricultural Association of Pampanga, January 24, 1921, QP; Letter from Augusto Gonzales . . . , October 17, 1921.

¹³¹ Resolution of the Board of Pampangan Farmers, October 15, 1919; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, March 1, 1918, pp. 1, 4; July 9, 1921, p. 8.

councils and provincial board passed and forwarded resolutions seeking aid to farming interests.¹³² The upper-class Pampangans had discovered the value and profit of working together as a modern interest group.

The government's new land policy represented another modernizing influence. Beginning in 1913 the insular government set out to rationalize the landholding system in the Philippines through the use of the cadastral survey. Pelzer described the workings of the Philippine Cadastral Act this way:

In accordance with this act all the parcels of a municipality were surveyed and then presented to the court in groups of 1,000 as one case. Here the government brought *pro forma* suit against the occupants because they lacked titles, and ordered them to vacate the land. If the occupants could prove their claim of ownership to the satisfaction of the court and if their claim was not contested, they received the necessary titles.¹³³

In short, the government began the herculean task of surveying all usable land in the Islands and establishing, once and for all, legal ownership to all parcels. Previous failures had led officials to the conclusion that only such a sweeping and drastic program could eliminate the confusion of imperfect titles which, they felt, retarded the full development of modern commercial agriculture. Good titles prevent extensive court litigation. Further, farmers who wished to use their land as collateral needed solid proof of ownership to obtain bank loans. And, finally, the assignment of ownership of all land would extend the tax base to cover every piece of real estate. Such an enormous survey, however, required years of intensive work by survey teams. By 1921 only six of Pampanga's towns were completely surveyed

¹³² Excerpt from the Minutes of . . . the Provincial Board . . . 21st Day of October of 1921; Resolutions of the Municipal Councils of Magalang (June 30, 1920), Lubao (July 27, 1920), and of the Provincial Board (June 10, 1920), QP. These resolutions protested the imposition upon the Philippines of the American Coastwise Shipping Law. The resolutions noted that this law would raise the price of the shipping of Philippine goods to the United States.

¹³³ Karl J. Pelzer, *Pioneer Settlement in the Asiatic Tropics* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1948), p. 109.

and three partially done. Not all of the cadastral cases were brought to court by that year and only a small fraction of those filed were resolved.¹³⁴ Further, Pelzer noted a general reluctance on the part of owners to pick up their certificates of registration. Probably the fear of paying additional taxes discouraged some from claiming their government titles.

From the government's point of view the cadastral survey represented a rational and necessary concomitant to modern agricultural development. But seen within the context of Pampangan society, the survey had other meanings and potentialities. The landowners had transacted business for years with their imperfect system of titles. Many of their sources of credit accepted *de facto* as well as *de jure* claims to ownership when offering loans. Further, the buying and selling of property over the years had given much legitimacy to land claims. While the cadastral system promised ultimately a severe reduction of land litigation among landowners, temporarily at least it provoked a vast increase as farmers had to settle their claims in court. In 1922, for instance, sixty-one individual cases were brought to the cadastral court, and although fifty cases representing some 560 hectares were settled without opposition the other eleven cases involving 978 hectares demanded lengthy litigation.¹³⁵ All these cadastral cases increased the possibility for land grabbing on the part of unscrupulous individuals with sharp lawyers.

The cadastral system also posed a possible threat to an important aspect of the tenant-landlord pattern in Pampanga. The danger inherent in the conflict was only slightly realized by 1921, but its potential destructiveness was great. The cadastral system was entirely associated with the legal side of landownership. On the other side the tenure system in the province constituted a wholly different and traditionally legitimized aspect

¹³⁴ Philippine Republic, Bureau of Lands, *Progress on Planned Surveys* (Manila: 1960) [mimeographed]; *Annual Report of the Governor General . . . 1921*, pp. 144, 146; Philippine Islands, Bureau of Lands, *Annual Report of the Director of Lands for the Fiscal Year Ending December 31, 1922* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1924), pp. 145-147.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

of landholding. Tenant families farmed specific parcels of land, often for generations. The basis of their claim was their strong ties to the landlord and, more importantly, their continuing use of that land. In an area like Pampanga where so many claims to legal landownership had originated in usufruct tenure, the long occupancy of the tenants conferred upon them a strong claim in custom to continuing occupancy. Hence, two systems, one legal and one customary, existed side by side and hardly in conflict in the traditional society. The cadastral program injected into this traditional system a flood of new legal titles which had the added force of government recognition. Landlords thus found their claims to ownership strengthened, certainly in legal terms. In case they wished to remove tenants from the land they had the new authorization of their solid titles to justify their actions. And while such titles did not negate the customary rights of the tenants, they did place the weight of government behind the rights of the legal owner. Hence the cadastral survey had the effect of increasing the possibility of land alienation among the tenant farmers of Pampanga. Even so, this possibility remained only a hypothetical one as long as the landlords clung to the old tenant system.

By the end of the period there were several indications that satisfaction among the landlords with the old tenant system was diminishing. Certainly the imperatives of the new commercial agriculture reduced the desirability of the traditional tenant-landlord relationship. The general aim of maximum production could not be maintained by a labor system which respected longevity of service rather than efficiency of output. Further, commercial cultivation required a higher degree of work specialization than the tenant system afforded. Landlords seeking to expand their rice production for commercial markets, for example, could profit more by hiring seasonal workers than by employing additional tenant farmers. Rice cultivation called for heavy labor input at peak times and little work much of the rest of the year. To supply with rice the year round more than the minimum number of *casamac* required to maintain the land, cut into marketable surpluses. So, in 1921, a petition of the

Agricultural Association of Pampanga contained a request for the importation of outside laborers because "vast expanses of land planted with palay are now overripe for lack of harvesters."¹³⁶ Landowners had not taken on extra tenants to raise their production level.

In the sugar industry the situation was more complex, but the net result was the same: a greater need for seasonal over tenant labor. Scientific advances led to a better understanding among farmers of the operative variables in sugar processing. In particular, more precise measurement of the sucrose content of cane demonstrated the advantage of bringing the cane to the mill as soon as possible after cutting. Since harvest time was a peak work period, planters turned to the expedient of hiring seasonal laborers. Already between 1915 and 1921 a number of purchase contracts between Chinese buyers and sugar planters contained clauses stipulating which party would pay and feed the day workers. Farmers sought to reduce the cost of such seasonal labor by importing outside workers at cut-rate wages.¹³⁷ They apparently succeeded somewhat, for in January 1922 the manager of Pasumil announced a drop in the daily wages of field hands from over one peso in 1921 to a current rate of eighty centavos.¹³⁸

Farmers milling with centrals wanted less tenant labor. Several of them began to rely more on tractors, obviating some of the service of their tenants. Moreover, the planters' milling expenses were higher, as much as 50 percent of their total harvest. While the greater selling price of centrifugal sugar and the availability of better markets may have justified milling with a central, the margin was not such to favor dividing returns with a larger number of tenants working expanded fields. The bigger

¹³⁶ Memorial of the Agricultural Association of Pampanga, January 24, 1921.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9. Most of the imported labor probably came from the nearby Ilocos region, but at least 178 Visayan workers were sent to Pampanga in 1920 by the Labor Bureau's Cebu employment office [Philippine Islands, Bureau of Labor, *Labor: Quarterly Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1920), II, No. 5, 10, No. 8, 5].

¹³⁸ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, January 7, 1922, pp. 1, 3.

planters also had to make heavier outlays for greater numbers of harvest workers, particularly given the demand of the centrals for only the best grades of cane. And a number of planters had invested heavily in the construction of the centrals, mortgaging their land to raise the necessary cash. With their property in jeopardy, the landowners' margin of leeway to carry old and faithful tenants, even if they had worked the same land for years, was severely reduced. The new need was for efficient workers, not loyal retainers. Under such circumstances the traditional tenant system became something of an anachronism.

To make the tenant system compatible with modern commercial farming, the planters could only retain the best workers and reduce their share of the harvests as far as possible. Landowners could no longer carry less able tenants—the old, the ill, and the inept—or provide that extra measure of economic security during the off-season, attributes built into the traditional system. Hence, to garner profits, planters had three options which they could apply singly or collectively: impose more stringent demands upon the casamac by stricter enforcement of the terms of the casamajan arrangement, simply evict the more inefficient and extraneous tenants, or transform the casamac into a daily wage worker and employ him more on a seasonal basis. The evidence suggests that at least two of the options were being employed by 1921. For several years some farmers in Magalang had been trying to convert their tenants into wage workers,¹³⁹ and one report noted a certain amount of seasonal unemployment as early as 1913.¹⁴⁰ It seems likely that some tenants were already being evicted and given work only at peak periods. Whether or not the landlords tightened up the terms of the casamac contract by 1921 remains unclear. They certainly did so later, but throughout the decade from 1911 to 1921 the sources suggest that the income of working peasants did not change.

¹³⁹ Interview with Mr. Alfredo Ganzon.

¹⁴⁰ "A Report on Economic Conditions, Pampanga Province . . . Prepared by the Class in Economics and Mrs. Lois Stewart Osborn (of Pampanga High School)," BIA, 363-296, Exhibit L, ca. 1913, p. 2.

Materially the peasants may have held their own, even profited some during the later years of prosperity, but their condition did not improve in spite of the increasing inflow of capital into the province. One contemporary writer expressed the situation this way:

In general the standard of living has not changed perceptibly with the very lowest classes, but is assuredly higher with the middle classes. The variety of food sold in the market, the demand for foreign clothes and the gradual use of more furniture in the house indicates this.¹⁴¹

This observation conforms with the findings of the present author in interviews with old tenants from that era. None of them noted those years as a time of special prosperity or greater socioeconomic mobility.

Scattered information, of limited reliability, on the wages of agricultural laborers in Pampanga presented a picture of economic water-treading for the poor. Unfortunately these sources do not usually specify whether the figures refer to the yearly gains of the tenants computed on a daily basis or the pay given to the seasonal migrant workers. Nevertheless, the figures may somewhat reflect the fluctuations in income of the poor over the decade. In 1910 a Bureau of Labor report listed the daily wages of farm laborers in Pampanga at ₱0.89, well above the overall Philippine average of ₱0.65.¹⁴² Three years later Pampangans still rated above the insular average of ₱0.59, but the figure for the province had dropped to ₱0.64.¹⁴³ Either peasant income was declining or the manner of computation had changed. Certainly the intervening years had not been kind to Pampangan agriculture and the fall in income would have been a reasonable expectation. Director of Labor Faustino Aguilar estimated the maximum and the minimum pay in Pampanga during 1918 at

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² Philippine Islands, Bureau of Labor, *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1910* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1910), p. 148.

¹⁴³ Philippine Islands, Bureau of Labor, *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor, 1913* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913), p. 54.

between ₱0.58 and ₱0.47.¹⁴⁴ These figures, however, did not reflect the intervening years of prosperity from 1915 to 1917. Moreover, Aguilar specifically excluded *aparceros* from his estimates. In all probability the tenants earned more than the migrant laborers, and the lower numbers indicated *casamac* absence from the averages. *Labor* in 1920 reported agricultural wages in Pampanga ranging between a high of ₱1.56 and a low of ₱0.86.¹⁴⁵ This rise coincided with the spectacular sugar prices resulting from World War I; most likely the prosperity of those years reached even the poor. But the inflated wages were only temporary and, as noted earlier, pay dropped to just more than a peso in 1921 and to ₱0.80 by the beginning of 1922. In other words, peasant income was approaching again the levels of 1910. Even the good years may not have produced any rise in real wages, for 1919 and 1920 were years of inflation when the cost of prime commodities went up along with pay.¹⁴⁶ Only a careful analysis of all price indexes for the period would reveal the extent of economic advance, if any, by agricultural labor at this time.

While the income of working tenants may have remained about the same, a certain number of them—probably still small in 1921—were finding themselves unemployed and underemployed. Since few opportunities existed for other types of full-time occupation in Pampanga, those without land had to turn to their working kin for help. Hence, whatever unemployment occurred in the province would cut into the real income of those still holding tenant contracts. Furthermore, by the beginning of the second decade of the century, the population had increased to a heavy density of 313 per square mile. As the need for full-time tenants declined, the number of those needing tenant contracts was growing ominously.

The new agricultural advances in this period were producing a case of uneven economic development. Although the

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Faustino Aguilar, Manila, August 2, 1918, to Manuel Luis Quezon, QP.

¹⁴⁵ *Labor*, II, No. 6, 28.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, No. 5, 46.

planters profited from new techniques in processing and better markets, the tenants worked in their traditional manner for no added income. In essence, the tenants absorbed the losses created by higher milling costs. The delegation of the casamac to his traditional role in the changing system of agriculture condemned him to eventual obsolescence and made him more vulnerable to economic displacement. The casamajan system had always been an inequitable one for the tenant. He received less money and had all the terms of the contract dictated to him by the landlord. The casamac had little control over his destiny and little economic mobility. He survived because of his importance to the old economic system and because of the concern, however grudgingly or willingly given, of the landlord. By 1921 the tenant's economic role had become less valuable and the landlord's concern was becoming less apparent. Progress had developed two separate meanings in Pampanga, one more positive to the planter, the other quite negative to the tenant.

Pampangan society from 1911 to 1921

By all appearances, the second decade of American rule represented a time of reduced tensions and growing prosperity for the people of Pampanga. Nationalist frustrations were partially alleviated by the Jones Bill with its grant of greater authority to native officials and its promise, albeit veiled, of fairly imminent independence. Francis Burton Harrison presided over an "era of good feelings" characterized by an increasing exodus of American colonial officials. At the same time, native politics became more a rush for public office than a crusade against imperialism. As a gesture of their good will, many Pampangans supported the American war effort in Europe by joining the National Guard, donating to Red Cross drives, and planting victory gardens.¹⁴⁷

Signs of prosperity showed up in burgeoning farming ac-

¹⁴⁷ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, March 11, 1918, p. 1; September 18, 1918, p. 5; February 20, 1919, p. 4.

tivities, rising prices for cash crops, and the availability of new markets. Technical innovations in agricultural cultivation, processing, and management attested to the progressiveness of the province and its leading farmers. Many of the most common diversions of the twentieth century reached Pampanga between 1911 and 1921 as well. The first automobiles came around 1913, as did the first silent movie houses. Before the end of the decade the people of the poblaciones were entertained by boxing events and jazz concerts. Telephones, the telegraph, and daily mail service brought all the towns into communication with San Fernando, Manila, and beyond. And airplanes began regularly to take off and land at Fort Stotsenberg in 1920.¹⁴⁸ No other rural region in the Philippines surpassed Pampanga in the drive toward modernity.

Yet, within the existing order, cleavages along class lines were becoming accentuated. After centuries of generally harmonious balance, Pampangan society fell prey to disruptive tendencies originating in the nineteenth century, as well as to the very forces which brought the latest prosperity. For, while the members of the upper class were diverted by the modern world and increasingly sought their social interaction among themselves and outside the province, their tenants became more isolated socially and economically from the new order. And the growing distance between tenants and landlords was cause for alarm.

The Pampangan elite, a greater number of them emulating late nineteenth century patterns of behavior, turned their attention to peer group organizations, politics, and extraprovincial activities. They resolved many of their economic and political problems by banding together into the various agricultural associations and political parties. The trend toward forming upper-class social clubs for amusement also continued. Such groups as the *Young Generation* in Macabebe, the *Kundiman*

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Hon. Quirino Abad Santos, San Fernando, Pampanga, June 2, 1964; Gatbonton, pp. 62, 65; Henson, *Angeles*, p. 37; Ricardo E. Galang, "Ethnographic Study of the Pampangans" (unpublished MS in the possession of Mr. Mauro Garcia, Manila, 1940), p. 16.

in Angeles, and the *Circulo Fernandino* in San Fernando were all patterned after organizations formed in the early American years. The matrons of Pampangan society organized Women's Clubs in the towns of Angeles, San Fernando, and Bacolor. These clubs also included some American members, presumably school teachers and some army wives. The growing participation of upper-class women in such Western-style affairs as tea parties, afternoon receptions, and social calls provided a favorable climate for the creation of such clubs.¹⁴⁹ A number of younger observers of the social scene noted the Americanization of social customs among the Pampangan elite. The practice of parents selecting their children's spouses went out due, most probably, to American influence through the educational system.¹⁵⁰ Many upper-class children spent their last years of schooling outside the province where they were more free to make their own marital choices. Sports and dancing took up more of the amusement time of the young. The custom among the elite of financing the production of moro-moro dramas died out as the rich found other diversions.¹⁵¹ The declining sponsorship by the elite of these plays, so popular with the poorer people, provided merely another sign of the widening gap between the classes.

The wealthy and the professionally trained found many opportunities in the new era to advance themselves economically. Investments in land abounded. The richest could buy shares in the centrals and the Philippine National Bank¹⁵² and thus partake in profits derived from the processing and financing aspects of agriculture. For those with advanced education, a career in Manila was possible. Professionals even began to

¹⁴⁹ Concepcion D. Alejandrino, "The Social Life of the Pampangan in and around Arayat; and Some Local Rules of Etiquette," Beyer Series, p. 2; *Manila Daily Bulletin*, August 22, 1921, p. 15; September 30, 1921, p. 4; Demetria Santos, "Social Functions In Mexico," Beyer Series, p. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Valentine D. Mendoza, "The Pampangans," Beyer Series, pp. 4-5.

¹⁵¹ Concepcion D. Alejandrino, p. 2; Benigno Fajardo, "Social Life in Lubao," Beyer Series, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵² List of Stockholders of the Philippine National Bank, April 10, 1917, QP.

find work in other areas of Central Luzon. Camiling, Tarlac, for example, experienced an influx of Pampangan administrators, merchants, peddlers, and druggists in this period.¹⁵³

For the peasants, isolated in the barrios, it was another story. Their poverty denied them access to most of the innovations reaching the towns and they had few opportunities to better or even change their circumstances. If their children attended school at all it was in one of the inferior barrio schools where only the first years were taught. The chances of obtaining an education beyond the third grade were virtually nil. Their horizons were limited to the barrio and barrio life, although they might see the symbols of change on rare visits to the poblacion for market or for religious occasions. The barrio family depended on the limited largesse of the landlords for their income and had little mobility, economic or geographic. Furthermore, the system whereby the son of a casamac inherited the debts of his father held many of the young permanently tied to their station in life. The casamajan system usually kept the tenants in varying degrees of debt, which gave the landowners coercive powers over their lives. They stayed or went at his call and they might send their wives and children to work in his house. But whether the tenant was free or not he had little chance to improve his position. In spite of (or perhaps because of) the onset of modern industrial agriculture, farm laborers found themselves locked into their traditional forms of work. The economic innovations were quite adjustable to the existing skills of the labor force, and little retraining or relocation was required. Alternate forms of work in the province with any actual promise of betterment simply did not surface. Peasants forced or willing to seek added sources of revenue had to rely on traditional types of supplemental work, or leave the province. A certain number of the poor followed each of these two paths.

¹⁵³ Melba C. Dy Tiapco, "The Community of Camiling, Tarlac—Its History, People, Institutions, and Resources" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of the Philippines, 1953), pp. 41-42.

Cottage industries still offered the biggest supplemental and alternative sources of income for the peasants of Pampanga. A wide range of crafts, including the weaving of cloth, mats, hats, and other objects; metalworking in gold, iron, and silver; and pottery making for household and industrial use gave added employment to people of all ages.¹⁵⁴ Housewives and children could augment the income of the head of the household by selling such homemade items at the market. The public schools taught a few pupils new skills such as embroidering and fancy weaving in order to encourage these cottage industries and to improve the quality and variety of objects made. Although the size of the cottage industries in Pampanga is hard to measure, many households in every municipality engaged in such activity. Furthermore, there were indications that the mat-weaving and embroidery industry rose substantially between 1911 and 1921. But cottage industries, taken together, did not present a viable way out of relative poverty for the lower-class Pampangan. Many of the goods, including locally woven cloth, were purely for home consumption. Other items like the bolos of Apalit were sold in the relatively poor market towns of Central Luzon. Only rare items such as buntal hats, made in small quantities, commanded good prices and were exported abroad. Commentators on cottage industries in Pampanga felt that they produced only meager profits generally. The individual craftsman could not make sufficient quantities of goods, and competition kept the selling prices down. Furthermore, gains were divided between the procurers of raw materials, the craftsmen who usu-

¹⁵⁴ The information on cottage industries in Pampanga comes mainly from two excellent articles: Felix B. Punsalan, "The Weaving Industry in Pampanga," Beyer Series; and Casimiro C. Romero, "Metal Working in the Town of Apalit," Beyer Series; and, to a lesser degree from the following other sources: Macario G. Naval, "Pottery and Pilon-Making in Santo Tomas, Pampanga," Beyer Series, pp. 4, 10; Ricardo E. Galang, "Mat Weaving in Apalit and Vicinity," Beyer Series, p. 1; Patricio C. Gozum, "The Mat Industry in the Town of Apalit," Beyer Series, pp. 1, 4; Demetria Santos, "The Household Industries of Mexico, Pampanga," Beyer Series, pp. 5-6; Galang, "Ethnographic Study . . .," pp. 17-20; *Commercial Handbook*, p. 144; Annual Report of the Governor of Pampanga, 1912, pp. 9-10.

ally supplied only their labor, and a series of middlemen responsible for marketing finished items. Too many participants had to share the profits to make cottage industry an economic success for any one family or individual.

Possibilities for employment in other industries were far too few to offer a significant number of poor people an alternative to agricultural work. The Bureau of Labor gave 18,838 as the number of laborers employed in factories and industrial establishments in the province during 1919.¹⁵⁵ However, of this number, 16,811 worked in sugar mills, mainly of the muscovado type, and another 498 were employed by rice mills. Such work was seasonal and left employees with six months to search about for other jobs. The rest of industrial employment consisted of less than two thousand openings in scattered plants ranging from distilleries to saw mills, mostly small in size. Such work was marginal to the province's main economic life.

Fishing, which might be considered a nonagricultural pursuit employing substantial numbers of peasants in the river towns, nevertheless did not really serve as a safety valve for the poor either. The most common type of fishing carried on was of the fish pond rather than the deep-sea variety. Diked ponds were prepared, seeded with fingerlings, and harvested by letting the water out when the fish had matured. These fish ponds were generally owned by wealthy landlords and worked by peasants with an arrangement not too different from the casamac system.¹⁵⁶ Poor farmers could not hope to find relief and advancement by resorting to fishing, even if they could acquire the necessary skills.

As a group, the nonagricultural labor force had little influence upon the Pampangan economy and almost no control over their wages. The demand for work outstripped the availability of jobs. Further, the laborers had no unions to represent their interests. True, in 1919, workers in one rice mill won an

¹⁵⁵ *Labor*, I, No. 1, 73.

¹⁵⁶ On the fishing industry in Pampanga see: Castro, pp. 13-14; Benigno Fajardo, "The Chief Industries of Lubao," Beyer Series, pp. 2-4, 6; *Commercial Handbook*, p. 128.

increase in pay through a five-day strike, but their case was an isolated one and they had no union affiliation.¹⁵⁷ The Bureau of Labor reported in 1921 that Pampanga contained not one organization for either industrial or agricultural workers.¹⁵⁸

Another option open to Pampangan peasants seeking to improve their livelihood was some sort of migration out of the province. However, taking up free land in a nearby province of Central Luzon was nearly impossible. By 1921 almost all the land bordering the province was owned and the best a tenant could do was to arrange with a landlord to clear a piece of untended marginal land and then work it by the usual *casamac* system. Normally a peasant could work a piece of virgin land for the first few years at his own expense but without paying anything to the owner. Only later, after the ground had been brought up to full cultivation did the peasant become a tenant as before in Pampanga.¹⁵⁹ To break out of the economic system operative in this part of Central Luzon, the poor man had to go further away than the neighboring provinces.

But the poor of Pampanga showed some reluctance to leave their home area. An unknown number made the move to Manila but, because of the silence of the 1918 census on migration information, the extent of the exodus cannot be determined. A small trickle sought homesteads on land being opened up by the government in Mindoro, Mindanao, and Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁶⁰ However, the difficulty of moving a family so far and the bureaucratic red tape in processing homestead applications made such a transfer unlikely for most of the poor.¹⁶¹ Migration to Hawaii with the prospect of work on the sugar plantations did not appeal to the Pampangans either. According to the available records for 1919, only ten Pampangans went to Hawaii that year while eighteen returned; and a year later ten went

¹⁵⁷ *Labor*, I, No. 3, 6.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, No. 11, 3.

¹⁵⁹ Jesus G. Barrera, "Rice Culture in Tarlac Province," Beyer Series, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ *Labor*, II, No. 8, 5, III, No. 9, 83.

¹⁶¹ On the difficulty of obtaining homestead titles, see Pelzer, p. 111.

and nine came back.¹⁶² The Pampangans thus did not represent more than a tiny fraction of the four or five thousand Filipinos who traveled back and forth across the Pacific each year. Similarly, no Pampangans migrated to other parts of the Philippines in search of seasonal employment.¹⁶³ When compared with their counterparts from the Ilocos and Visayan regions, the peasants of Pampanga demonstrated a marked preference for staying at home. People obviously felt an attachment to the area in which they were born and raised. Strong family allegiance and linguistic affinities made emigration quite undesirable. Furthermore, the plight of the tenant had not reached desperate proportions yet. By 1921 the standard of living had not apparently deteriorated and, although population density was approaching serious levels, new land for cultivation could still be found on the fringes of the province. The major problem the peasants had to cope with in 1921 was not economic decline, nor was its solution out-migration.

The peasant's dilemma was that, at this time of change, the social component of the casamajan system was breaking down. The degree of alienation between the landlords and the *aparceros* approached the critical point; the fact that, beginning in 1921, protest came to Pampanga is directly attributable to the declining social interaction between peasant and elite. The crucial relationship in Pampangan society, that link which had always held the classes together, was the bond between the *casamac* and the landowner. This relationship had social as well as economic ramifications and provided for the tenant a large measure of what he deemed security: security from unexpected want and security from the dangers of things new and strange. The landlord had traditionally offered guidance along with leadership in times of transition, thus justifying, in the peasant's mind, the exploitation of his labor. That the tenants saw their dealing with their landlords as much social as economic in nature came out in the author's interviews with them.

¹⁶² *Labor*, II, No. 6, 8, 16, III, No. 9, 65, 74.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, III, No. 9, 83.

While no tenants significantly improved their economic station between 1911 and 1921, their assessment of their landlords varied from "very kind" to "very unfair." And the rate of interest on loans proved a less important factor in the tenant's judgment of his master than accessibility to the landlord for loans and advice. In general, differences in contracts and interest rates did not finally matter in the life of the peasant. Whether he borrowed on the *talindua*, *tacpanan*, or *tercialhan* system, he ended the farming season with no money left over and usually in debt to the landlord. Many financial variables conspired to keep the tenant in his place, but the landlord's qualities were obviously judged more on social grounds than on the kind of business arrangements he made.

Even with all the economic insecurity and inequities faced by the peasants, they had the capacity to pass into the new agricultural era without protest. In prior eras they had placidly faced changes in processing techniques, in crops planted, even in the composition of the ruling elite. Furthermore, there was probably no time in the history of Pampanga after 1600 when any number of the poor possessed real opportunities for social or economic mobility. The elite always had them tied down. And the inequities of the system were so ingrained that no one thought of them as inequities any longer. For example, Governor Arnedo could speak of 18 percent as a usurious rate of interest when paid by planters to moneylenders. At the same time no one, either landlord or tenant, raised an eyebrow at the 33, 50, sometimes 100 percent interest paid annually by the *casamac* for the subsistence he vitally needed. The social concern of the landlord for the *aparcero* was judged by both parties as sufficient compensation for the economic inequities.

But that social concern was on the wane in 1921. The landlords were no longer so sure of the economic value of the system. The old relationship, somewhat informal in character and personal in nature, was inimical to industrial agriculture based on accurate cost accounting and scientific technology. Some tenants had already been released because of economic pressure on their landlords. But as yet the tenant system was

still intact as an economic arrangement, in spite of some minor attempts to alter it or do away with it. In the social vein, however, the diversions of the modern age had attracted many of the younger generation away from the farms and barrios. The first indications of absenteeism as a spreading phenomenon came in this decade. In 1916 one contemporary observer noted:

The owner of a share estate may or may not give personal attention to his land. He may live in town and interest himself in other things. In this case he may have a manager.¹⁶⁴

The increased use of the overseer, or *katiwala*, as an intermediary between the tenant and the landowner could only have disruptive effects on a labor system which valued direct interaction and recognition so highly. And the presence of the *katiwala* was just one of the signs of greater alienation between the two classes.

Without the landlord and his personal concern for their welfare, the tenants started to sense for the first time the inequities of the system under which they labored. And as they recognized those inequities, they turned to the final option open to them: protest. At first it began in a small way, but its progress was rapid and inevitable. On January 24 a fire burned through 150 cavans of rice in Barrio Magumbali, Candaba.¹⁶⁵ This might have been dismissed as an accident, except that it was followed quickly by two similar incidents. On February 18 the rice granaries of Don Jacinto Genuino went up in smoke in Barrio Mandasig, and a week later in Barrio Mapaniqui, also in Candaba, 125 more cavans of rice were destroyed by flames. Only these three relatively minor incidents marred the tranquility of the province in 1921. But they were just the beginning. Pampanga had reached the twilight of its time of social peace. The following year the first tenant strikes began. The Bureau of

¹⁶⁴ Castro, p. 9. His observations were confirmed in the author's interview with Mr. Luciano Balajadia, June 5, 1964 in Barrio Balud, Magalang. Mr. Balajadia was an overseer for Mr. Alfredo Ganzon during the years under consideration.

¹⁶⁵ Gatbonton, p. 65.

Labor recorded seven of them in 1922: two in Angeles, two in Magalang, one in Candaba, and two in Mexico.¹⁶⁶ In the Candaba strike, the tenants of Don Jose Arroyo wished to have a voice in where their shares of the harvest would be sold.¹⁶⁷ The following year, the sugar tenants in Barrio Baliti, San Fernando, made far broader demands, seeking knowledge of the whole marketing process as well as a bigger share of the profits.¹⁶⁸ Increasingly the credibility of the landowners was being questioned. By 1924 tenant-landlord disputes had come to the governor's attention. Pampangan Governor Olimpio Guanzon heard the complaints of hundreds of tenants in numerous towns, on matters going as far back as 1920.¹⁶⁹ Strikes occurred with some regularity and the landlords were starting to organize their own protective associations. The new age of violence and distrust was fully launched.

¹⁶⁶ *Labor*, IV, Nos. 15-16, 18-19.

¹⁶⁷ Gatbonton, p. 66.

¹⁶⁸ "Historical Data of the Town of San Fernando, Pampanga, Barrio Baliti," HDP, p. 31.

¹⁶⁹ Katherine Mayo, *The Isles of Fear* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1925), pp. 42-46.

What shall we do with our property, which we'll just leave
behind,
What shall we do with our food, if we do not share it with
others,
How shall we love our relatives, if we do not love all men,
What shall be the value of life if we are left alone,
We love and cherish no one except ourselves,
If we do not want to give and live with our fellow men.

Esteban Cunanan

9

Envoi

ON FEBRUARY 14, 1939 Manuel Luis Quezon, President of the Philippine Commonwealth, journeyed to San Fernando, Pampanga to make a speech to the striking farmers and sugar laborers of the province. In his talk, President Quezon decried the strikers' resort to violence and their disrespect for governmental authority. He called for peace between the tenants and landlords and suggested that more equitable labor contracts might ease the strain between the two groups.¹ The large crowd applauded the great orator many times during his speech, but

¹ Philippine Commonwealth, President, 1935-1944 (Quezon), *Speech of His Excellency, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines on New Deal for the Laboring Classes in the Philippines* (delivered before a mass gathering of farm laborers and tenants at San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939), *passim*.

after his return to Manila the strikes went on. The mood of Pampanga in 1939 was far angrier than in 1921. Two decades of ever mounting hostility had rent the fabric of the old society beyond mending. The traditionally firm relations between the two classes were never reestablished, and Pampanga, once a bastion of conservatism, had become the center of radicalism.²

Neither the prosperity of the twenties nor the depression of the thirties brought the two groups together again. The age of the centrals presented new problems for the planters and they released inefficient tenants and demanded more stringent terms of those still laboring under the casamajan contracts. The number of workers only seasonally employed grew while Pampanga's population continued to rise at a dangerously high rate. With the great excess of manual labor available, tenants had to take whatever terms the landowners were willing to offer. And the landowners, diverted by other interests, were becoming less generous. The centrals created a new crop of planter millionaires, men like Jose de Leon, who profited enormously from their investment in the booming sugar industry. But the wealth did not filter down to the lower classes and the planters merely lived more lavishly than before. Economic development became more uneven as the peasants found themselves boxed in by pressures from many directions.

Together the Pampangans might have worked out a solution to the tenants' economic plight and avoided hostility, as did, for example, the farmers of overcrowded Java. But by 1921 the social distance between the elite and the peasant had grown too great for communication and trust between the parties. In some places in the province the old relationship still held, but such cases were becoming less frequent as time passed. Instead

² The most useful, if understandably partisan, study of radicalism in twentieth century Pampanga is Luis Taruc, *Born of the People: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1953). See also Uldarico S. Baclagon, *The Huk Campaign in the Philippines* (Manila: M. Colcol, 1956), pp. 243-272; Hernando Abaya, *Betrayal in the Philippines* (New York: A. A. Wyn, 1946), pp. 206-223; Alfredo B. Saulo, *Communism in the Philippines, An Introduction* (Manila: Ateneo Publications Office, 1969), pp. 1-35.

of looking to the planters for help, tenants began relying upon new organizations for assistance in obtaining economic amelioration. Many of the leaders of these groups provided a measure of social and political guidance as well. The names of the organizations changed and the ideological persuasion of their leaders varied, but the peasants kept joining, switching from one to the other as they waxed and waned. *Kapatiran Magsasaka*, KPMP, and AMT all had sizable memberships at various times before World War II.³

Perhaps the most charismatic of the new leaders, the one with the largest following, was Pedro Abad Santos. This veteran of the Philippine Revolution, who had fallen out with the regular politicians and the landowning class in the twenties, founded the Socialist party in the thirties. To the Abad Santos compound in San Fernando the peasants flocked, seeking advice from this aging, somewhat eccentric intellectual who served as their lawyer and counselor in disputes over division of the harvests. The fact that the tenants turned to Abad Santos and to the other leaders rather than to their own landowners speaks most eloquently to the extent of the rift in Pampangan society. The old solidarity between the classes was dissipating and being replaced by contention and distrust.

Many of the new spokesmen for the tenants had ties among the traditional elite, although they became separated from them in their new role. Abad Santos belonged to a family that had moved into the upper class in the nineteenth century. Young Luis Taruc, who attended college in Manila, was descended from a family of considerable standing in San Luis in the nineteenth century. The Tarucs had fallen upon hard times later on but the name was well respected in the area. Casto Ale-

³ *Kapatiran Magsasaka* (Union of Tenant Farmers) came to Pampanga in 1922 from Bulacan and lasted until around 1926 when it was replaced by KPMP (*Kapisanang Pambansa ng Magbubukid sa Pilipinas* or National Peasants Union of the Philippines). The AMT (*Aguman ding Maldang Talapagobra* or League of Poor Workers) came into being in the 1930s and served as the mass arm of the Socialist party under the leadership of Pedro Abad Santos.

jandrino and Vivencio Cuyugan were from the landowning class; the former, a nephew of General Jose Alejandrino, farmed almost seventy hectares of sugar land in Arayat and had upheld the family tradition of dissent by becoming a strike organizer before the outbreak of World War II. The acceptance of Alejandrino and other landowners by the peasants suggests that the split between the classes was not totally beyond repair at this point. When landowners did take an interest in their *aparceros* they could still play an important role in the leadership of the community. But by 1939 there were too few Alejandrinos and too many others more concerned with party politics, professional careers, and social activities outside the *barrios* to prevent the gap from widening. A speech by Quezon could scarcely mend a breach already twenty years old.

During the Japanese occupation, from 1942 to 1945, the rift became permanent. Most of the landowners sought the safety of Manila, fleeing the danger of the newly formed and armed Hukbalahap (People's Anti-Japanese Army)⁴ as much as the hardships caused by the Japanese army. The peasants stayed, many of them joining the Huks, the successor organization of Pedro Abad Santos' Socialist party. Under the leadership of Luis Taruc, the Huks fought the Japanese while at the same time righting some of the economic inequities of the past. While attacking the enemy, the Huks also put together the rudiments of a new social organization with its own leadership, customs, and institutions based on a rough form of socialist democracy. The peasant who enlisted with the Huks found a clearly defined role for himself, a strict moral code to follow, and the opportunity to widen his perceptions through a socialist education.⁵ A new society was beginning to replace the

⁴ Originally *Hukbalahap* was short for *Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon* but the name was changed in the postwar years to *Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan* (Army of National Liberation). The members of this guerrilla organization have always been referred to as the Huks.

⁵ On the society created by the Huks during and after World War II, see Taruc, *passim*; and William J. Pomeroy, *The Forest* (New York: International Publishers, 1963), *passim*.

old order which had shown distinct signs of failing as early as 1921. By 1945 the transition was very incomplete, although a return to the old way was now impossible. The Huks emerged from the war as the dominant political power in the province and the liberating American army found Huk leaders occupying government buildings in San Fernando.

The majority of the landlords did not return to Pampanga in 1946. The dominant military position of the Huks was destroyed between 1945 and 1954 by the armed might of the newly independent Philippine government, but the Huks retained enough control to prevent the landowners from ever again feeling comfortable in the province. The peasants' attitude was reshaped in those years so that the old sense of subservience vanished. Landowners still might be able to collect their share of the harvest, but they did so mainly through their agents and *katiwala*. Only those rare individual planters who had managed to maintain a rapport with their tenants and who still took an interest in farming resided in their old homes in the towns. Most remained in Manila and its immediate suburbs, immersing themselves in the life of the city. There they formed Pampangan enclaves, attempting to preserve the old social and familial unity, conversing together in the dialect. But their social circles broadened to include many non-Pampangans, and their business interests changed. In the 1950s and 1960s many of them prospered by turning their farm income into urban investments. The Pampangan elite was making the final transition into the world beyond the province. Their children blended into the urban environment, and few Manila Pampangans under thirty knew anything of the province except what they picked up from their parents and what they gleaned from occasional visits to the old homestead.

A curious vestige of the past survived into the sixties. The *Mancomunidad Pampangueña* held an annual fancy dress ball in Manila. The *Mancomunidad* originated as a dancing society in San Fernando in the thirties, splintering off from the old *Circulo Fernandino*. Revived after the war in Manila, the club sponsored this annual occasion for the Manila Pampangans so

that one night each year they might gather in their best finery, dance the old dances, and reminisce about bygone days. But by 1962, when Nick Joaquin, the well-known Philippine novelist, went to the affair, it had altered.⁶ Many non-Pampangans attended now and dancing was mostly in the modern style. The refreshments came from a Manila caterer rather than from Pampangan kitchens, and the talk centered on national rather than provincial topics. Joaquin felt a sense of disappointment to see how rapidly the past was fading. To his way of thinking this crowd, extravagant and swank, Filipino rather than old genteel Pampangan, belonged to the new Manila. Joaquin certainly overromanticized the past generation, but nonetheless the ghosts of Joven and Arnedo, of Monico Mercado and Crisostomo Soto, of Honorio Ventura and Pedro Abad Santos were not conjured up that night.

While the wealthy Pampangans, bedecked and bejeweled, danced at the Manila Hotel, the past stayed alive in the province. The agony of distrust, uncertainty, and physical violence persisted as the muted struggle for political control went on. The peasants sought then, as they do today, to reestablish a sense of community and to find new leadership, denied to them since the defeat of the Huks. In a few towns, notably Angeles and San Fernando, new prosperity has produced a group of young energetic entrepreneurs who are transforming their communities into centers of commerce and small industry. These Jaycees (members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce) and younger politicians come from a variety of social and geographic backgrounds and seek in effect to break with the past. In so doing they have brought back a lost vitality and a sense of unity. But in the barrios and the smaller towns, the search for these elements goes on. Inured to hardship, the barrio folk cling to the old system of labor without the guidance of either the old or newer elite. The national government has not compensated for the loss of leadership, and its programs to induce

⁶ Nick Joaquin, "A Salute to the Simple Life," *Philippines Free Press*, LV (February 3, 1962), 33-35, 40.

change have so far failed. The land reform initiated by President Macapagal, himself a Pampangan, is perhaps the most notable of the failures.

Perhaps change will only come when urban sprawl reaches Pampanga and it is turned into a suburb of Manila. Already good agricultural land is being converted into residential subdivisions and people from the southern towns commute into Manila and Rizal Province to work. It may well be that the end of the tenants' plight will only arrive when Pampanga loses its agricultural character and its people are turned into urbanites. By then the Pampangans will have lost their sense of separate identity and melted completely into a broader Filipino community.

Bibliography

Notes on major collections

Beyer, H. Otley, ed. "Ethnography of the Pampangan People." Vols. I-III. Unpublished MSS, Manila, 1916-1931.

The three volumes of Pampangan ethnography contain mostly research papers written by Pampangan students for Dr. Beyer's class in anthropology at the University of the Philippines. Though the papers vary widely in quality, the best supply valuable firsthand views of provincial life. The Pampangan set is part of a series of 155 volumes of Philippine ethnography compiled and edited by Beyer before World War II.

Republic of the Philippines, Bureau of Public Schools. "Historical Data Papers for Pampanga." Vol. II. Unpublished MS, National Library of the Philippines, 1953.

During World War II, fire destroyed many of the official provincial records. In 1946, the Bureau of Public Schools of the Philippine Republic in an effort to save some record of the past organized a plan for getting provincial schoolteachers to complete local histories. The teachers went out and interviewed older citizens and examined all available local records. The results of this program were the "Historical Data Papers" presently kept in the National Library of the Philippines in Manila. Only the second of the two Pampangan volumes is still left, but it

contains information on nine of the municipalities of the province.

Luther Parker Collection.

The Filipiniana section of the University of the Philippines Main Library at Quezon City houses the Luther Parker Collection. Parker, an American schoolteacher who served as principal of the Bacolor School of Arts and Trades between 1904 and 1910, arranged while there for each town to prepare an official history. Copies of these histories make up the bulk of the Parker Collection. In addition, Parker also saved the histories written by several prominent Pampangans of the day. Microfilm copies of the official town histories plus some of Parker's own writings and correspondence can be found in the Library of Congress and the Yale University Library.

The Papers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, U.S. National Archives.

The papers of the Bureau of Insular Affairs are kept in the Social Sciences section of the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The documents refer mainly to twentieth century matters and the system of cataloguing is not helpful in locating data on provincial history. The collection does, however, contain much information on Philippine agriculture in general and the sugar industry in particular.

Philippine Insurgent Records.

These papers of Aguinaldo's government were captured by U.S. forces during the Philippine-American War and remained in the United States until 1958 when they were returned to the Philippines and placed in the National Library of the Philippines. A microfilm copy of the records is still kept in the War Department section of the National Archives in Washington. In the United States, the records were only partially catalogued and arranged by Captain John Taylor in the first decade of the twentieth century. In addition, Taylor selected about 1,500 documents and used them in a book which was never published [John R. M. Taylor (ed.), *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department, 1906) (Galley proof)]. At present, the staff of the National Library of the Philippines is rearranging the papers so that they are no longer in the same order as they appear on the Washington microfilm. The annotations in the footnotes of this study refer to the Washington arrangement.

Philippine National Archives.

The Philippine National Archives in Manila contains one of the largest collections in the world of documents on the Spanish regime in the archipelago; the papers number in the millions. The Archives is strongest in late nineteenth century holdings, and there are documents from almost all the agencies of the colonial bureaucracy as well as reports from various religious and civil officials. Unfortunately, many of the papers are in poor condition and only about one-third have been arranged in any sort of order. The ones for Pampanga are located in several different places, and most are uncatalogued; however, the protocols are all together, and many miscellaneous papers are tied together in bundles labeled "Pampanga."

Manuel L. Quezon Papers.

This collection contains an estimated 180,000 items, by far the richest holding of private papers in the Philippines. Since Quezon was such a dominant force in Philippine politics, his personal correspondence covers an extremely wide range of topics. Local matters are classified according to province and under other subject headings. The collection has now been almost completely sifted and sorted and is perhaps the easiest to use in the Philippines. The papers are well cared for in the Rare Books and Manuscript Room of the National Library.

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